

Cl. Are you all agreed of your verdict?

Jury. Yes.

Cl. Who shall say for you?

Jury. The Foreman.

Cl. Set *John Twyn* to the Bar, Look upon him my Masters; how say you, is he Guilty of the *High Treason* whereof he stands indicted, or not guilty?

Foreman. Guilty.

Cl. of Newgate. Look to him Keeper.

Cl. Hearken to your Verdict as the Court hath Recorded it; You say that *John Twyn* is Guilty of the *High Treason* whereof he stood indicted, and that at the time of committing the said Treason, or any time since, he had no goods, chattles, lands nor tenements to your knowledge, and so you say all.

Jury. Yes.

Cl. *John Twyn*, Thou hast been arraigned for *High Treason* and thereunto hast pleaded Not Guilty, and for thy tryal hast put thy self upon God and the Country, and the Country hath found thee Guilty: what canst thou now say for thy self, why the Court should not proceed to Judgement, and thereupon Award Execution of Death against thee according to the Law?

Twyn. I humbly beg mercy; I am a poor man, and have three small Children, I never read a word of it.

L. Hide. I'll tell you what you shall do; Ask mercy of them that can give it; that is of God and the King.

Twyn. I humbly beseech you to intercede with his Majesty for mercy.

Cl. of Newgate. Tye him up Executioner.

Cryer. Oyes, My Lords the Kings Justices command all manner of persons to keep silence while Judgement is in giving, upon pain of Imprisonment.

L. Hide. *John Twyn* (and *John Rusmore*, one convicted for clipping of money :) I am heartily sorry that your cariages and grievous offences should draw me to give that Judgement upon you that I must. It is the Law pronounces

nounces it, God knows it is full fore against my inclination to do it, I will not trouble my self or you with repeating what you have done, but only this in the general, *John Twyn*, for you; Yours is the most grievous and Highest Treason, and the most complicated of all wickedness that ever I knew; for you have as much as possibly lay in you, so reproached and reviled the King, the dead King, and his Posterity, on purpose to endeavour to root them out from off the face of the earth: I speak it from my soul, I think we have the greatest happiness of the world, in enjoying what we do under so gracious and good a King: yet you in the rancour of your heart thus to abuse him: I will be so charitable to think you are misled. There's nothing that pretends to Religion that will avow or justify the killing of Kings, but the *Jesuit* on the one side, and the *Sellary* on the other; indeed it is a desperate and dangerous Doctrine, fomented by divers of your temper, and it's high time some be made examples for it. I shall not spend my time in discourse to you, to prepare you for death; I see a grave Person whose office it is, and I leave it to him. Do not think of any time here, make your peace with God, which must be done by confession, and by the discovery of those that are guilty of the same crime with you. God have mercy upon you; and if you so do he will have mercy upon you. But forasmuch as you *John Twyn* have been indicted of *High Treason*, you have put yourself upon God and the Country, to try you; and the Country have found you guilty, therefore the Judgement of the Court is, and the Court doth Award.

That

That you be led back to the place from whence you came, and from thence to be drawn upon an Hurdle to the place of Execution, and there you shall be hanged by the Neck, and being alive shall be cut down, and your privy Members shall be cutoff, your Entrails shall be taken out of your body, and you living, the same to be burnt before your eyes: your head to be cut off, your body to be divided into four quarters, and your head and quarters to be disposed of at the pleasure of the Kings Majesty. And the Lord have mercy upon your soul.

Thyn. I most humbly beseech your Lordship to remember my condition, and intercede for me.

L. Hide. I would not intercede for my own Father in this case, if he were alive.

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Monday 22. Feb. 65.

THE Court Proclaimed.

CL. Set *Simon Dover, Thomas Brewster and Nathan Brooks* to the Bar, Look to your challenge.

The same Jury sworn anew.

CL. Set *Tho. Brewster* to the Bar, and the rest set by; You of the Jury look upon the Prisoner: you shall understand that he stands indicted in London by the name of *Thomas Brewster, &c.* [and here he reads the Indictment] For causing to be Printed and selling a Book called, *The Speeches, &c.* Upon this Indictment he hath been arraigned, and thereunto hath pleaded Not Guilty, and for his, &c. Your charge is to enquire whether he be Guilty of this Sedition and offence or Not Guilty if you find him, &c.

Mr. North. May it please your Lordship and you Gentlemen of the Jury, *T. B.* stands here indicted of a foul misdemeanor; it is for causing to be Printed, publishing and uttering a seditious, scandalous and malicious Book; The Indictment sets forth, That he not having, &c. [Here Mr. North opens the Indictment] and to this Indictment he hath pleaded Not Guilty; If there be sufficient proof of the charge, you are to find him Guilty of the matter contained in it.

Thomas Creek, George Thresher, Thomas Loft and Peter Bodwel Sworn.

Mr. North. *Tho. Creek*, tell my Lord and the Jury what you know concerning *Brewsters*, and your Printing of a Book.

Book called *The Speeches*, &c. and his uttering and publishing of it.

Creek. I shall Sir; There is a mistake in the time, for it was before *Christmas*, that Mr. *Brewster*, Mr. *Calvert*, and Mr. *Chapman* did come to me at the *Cock in Little-Brittain*, and there they had some Copie of the beginning of the *Speeches* of the men that suffered, that were the Kings Judges, and they spake to me to Print it; and I did Print part of the Book, I cannot tell you how much, without I had the Book, and then I can tell you how much I did Print, [*The Book being shewed him*] If this be my Printing; I suppose it was done afterwards, another Impression, and I must not own it in that, [*he was shewed one of another Impression*] My Lord thus far I own, the Printers that are of the Jury will judge, [*pointing to the Page*] this is my Letter, and here I ended.

L. Hide. What folio is that you ended at?

Creek. You shall see, it is 36.

Mr. North. By whose order did you Print that?

Creek. They all gave me order together.

L. Hide. They all? name them.

Creek. Mr. *Calvert*, *Brewster* and *Chapman*.

Mr. North. Did they charge you to do it privately?

Creek. With as much privacy and expedition as I could?

Mr. North. When you had Printed them, what did you do with them?

Creek. I disposed of them by their order.

Mr. North. Did you Print but one Impression? or more?

Creek. Yes my Lord, I did Print part of a second Impression.

Mr. North. That we use as Evidence, that he had uttered the first, because he went upon a second; how many did you Print at first?

Creek. To my best remembrance, the first Impression was 3000.

L. Hide. These three employed you to Print this Book, and you Printed to the 36. folio.

Creek. Yes.

L. Hide. And who Printed the other part?

Creek. I cannot say positively.

L. Hide. These three did afterwards direct you to give out the sheets to such and such Persons, Book-binders to stich up, and dispose.

Creek. Yes.

L. Hide. The first was three thousand you say, what number did they take?

Creek. They had all; they sent for them of me as fast as I did them.

J. Keeling. Who did you send the Proofs to?

Creek. They were sent for to my house.

J. Keeling. Sometimes by *Calvert*, sometimes his man, sometimes his maid, sometimes by *Brewster*.

L. Hide. Do not you know who began where you left off?

Creek. I am not able positively to say, I do believe, and I have heard, and spoken with them that said *Mr. Dover* did, but I cannot positively say it.

L. Hide. You were not by to see it done?

Creek. No.

L. Hide. What grounds have you to believe that *Dover* Printed the rest?

Creek. Grounds; truly it is so long ago, to swear positively I cannot.

L. Hide. It is but three years ago.

Creek. To the best of my remembrance, *Mr. Dover* in the time of Printing of it, did meet me, and converse with me about it, but to express time or place, I cannot.

L. Hide. Did you and he agree that he should Print the other part?

Creek. No my Lord; I had nothing to do to agree it with him.

L. Hide.

L. Hide. Did he declare to you that he Printed the othes?
Creek. To the best of my memory he told me he Printed some sheets.

Mr. North. Who changed sheets with you?

Creek. Some sheets were changed at Mr. *Dovers*.

J. Keeling. Who paid for the Printing?

Creek. Mr. *Brewster* paid me some, and some Mr. *Calvert* paid me.

L. Hide. If you desire to ask him any questions you may.

Brewster. By and by I shall, my Lord.

Dover. I desire he may tarry till I come to my tryal.

Serj. Morton. Don't doubt it.

Mr. North. *George Thresher*, speak your knowledge to my Lord and the Jury, whether *Brewster* did not bring you the Book called the *The Speeches*, &c. to be Sticked; and what you did with them, tell the manner of it.

Thresher. May it please you my Lord and the Honourable Bench, it is thus; This Book it seems was Printed, Mr. *Ereuer* came to my house to know whether I could fold them and stitch them in blew Paper; That night I went to several Printers, Mr. *Dover* was one of them; we had several sheets from thence (I did not see them printed) I carried them home, and went about the working them that night.

J. Keeling. How many Books were delivered to you?

Thresher. First and last, about 500.

J. Keeling. Who delivered them to you?

Thresher. Some were brought to my House.

J. Keeling. By whose Direction.

Thresher. Mr. *Brewster*'s.

J. Keeling. Did you deliver them to any Body?

Thresher. Yes, to *Nathan Brookes*, ready stitched.

J. Keeling. Who paid you for them?

Thresher. Mr. *Brewster*, for them he had, and *Brookes* for them he had.

Mr. North. *Thomas Loft*, tell your Knowledge in this business.

Thomas

Thomas Loft. May it please You, All that I can say is this; There was to the Number of about, or near upon a Thousand, as I take it, Folded and Sticked in my Masters House, one Mr. *Perry*, I was then his Apprentice; they were sent in as I judge by Mr. *Brewster's* Order, but I cannot positively say it, my Mr. appointed us to do them; I saw Mr. *Brewster* there sometimes, but I cannot positively say that Mr. *Brewster* paid for the doing of them,

Mr. North. Did not your Mr. presse the dispatch?

Loft. My Mr. did so, but I know not whether they conversed to that purpose.

Mr. North. VVho fetched them away?

Loft. His then Apprentice did fetch some of them from our House

Mr. North. *Peter Bodvell*, tell my Lord, and the Jury what you know.

Bodvell. I did carry some three years agoe some Bundles of Books from Mr. *Creekes* House, and I think they were the Bundles of *The Speeches of the Kings Judges.*

L. Hide. From whence had you them?

Bodvell. From Mr. *Creekes.*

Mr. North. What did you do with them? were they sold?

Bodvell. I did see some of them sold in the Shop.

Mr. North. VVhofold them?

Bodvell. My self, and my Mistris sometimes,

L. Hide. VVere they brought to the Shop to sell by his privity?

Bodvell. I do believe he knew of them.

L. Hide. Fy the Oath you have taken, did he send you for them to the Printers?

Bodvell. He, or my Mistris did.

L. Hide. Has he been in the Shop when they have been sold?

Bodvell. I cannot truly tell, it's three Years agoe.

J. Tirrel. To whom did you pay the money that you receied for the n ?

Bodvell.

Bodvell. We put it in the Box.

J. Keeling. Do not Book-Sellers keep Account; what Books they sell, and set down the money?

Bodvell. Not for Pamphlets.

Mr. North. Did he not send you to the Book-binders for them when they were stitched?

Bodvell. It was by his or my Mistress's order.

J. Keeling. What was your Book-binder's Name?

Bodvell. Perry.

J. Keeling. Where was this Book kept? Publickly, as other Books, or in other Roomes?

Bodvell. In the Shop my Lord.

J. Keeling. Were they Publickly to view as other Books?

Bodvell. Not so Publick as other Books, but publick enough, Mr. L' *Estrange* knows.

L. Hide. I know you use to let your Titles of a New Book lie open upon your Stalls, did you lay these open?

Bodvell. No my Lord, they did not do so.

L. Hide. Who was the cause they did not, did your Master direct the privacy?

Bodvell. I think he did, we had some Direction to that end.

L. Hide. Not to lay them open upon the Stall.

Bodvell. No.

L. Hide. Give the Jury some Books, and Read the Indictment, let them be Compared.

Clerk. Reads the Indictment, First the Title; *The Speeches and Prayers of some of the Late Kings Judges, (viz.) Major Generall Harrison, October 13. Mr. John Carey, October 15. Mr. Justice Cooke Mr. Hugh Peters, October 16. Mr. Thomas Scot. Mr. Gregory Clement. Col. Adrian Scroope. Col. John Jones, October 17. Col. Daniell Axtell, and Col. Francis Hacker, October 19 1660. The times of their Deaths, together with several Occasional Speeches, and Passages in their Imprisonment, till they*
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came

'came to the place of Execution; Faithfully, and Impartially Collected for further Satisfaction. [Mr. Cooke's Letter to a Friend.] Folio 40.

And so I D. send to the Cause, for which I am in Bonds; which is as good as ever it was, And I believe there is not a Saint that hath Ingaged with us, but will wish at the last Day that he had Sealed to the Truth of it with his Blood, if thereupon called; for I am satisfied, that it is the most Noble and Glorious Cause that has been Agitated for God and Christ since the Apostolical Times, Being for Truth, Holiness, and Righteousness, for our Liberties, as Men, and as Christians for removing all Taxes and Oppressions. (and 41.) It is such a Cause, that the Martyrs would come again from Heaven to suffer for it if they might: I look upon it as the most High Act of Justice that our Story can Parallel, &c.

[Not to trouble the Reader with all the Particulars mentioned in the Indictment; Since the Rest are but more of the same in other words.]

L. Hide. What say you to this Book?

Brewster. I desire to ask Mr. Creek a few Questions; Mr. Creek, How much of that in the Indictment did you Print?

Creek. The Jury may see if they please.

L. Hide. Truly if he saies true, he saies he Printed no part of that with which you are charged, but the Title Page, he left off at folio 36. your charge is the Title, and beginning at fol. 40.

Brewster. So that you see he Printed nothing for me that is in the Indictment.

J. Keeling. Did you Print the Title?

Creek. Yes my Lord.

L. Hide. And you Printed the rest, by His, Calverts, and Chapmans Directions.

Creek. They delivered me the Copy together to Print.

L. Hide.

L. Hide. If you have any thing to say, (speak to the Court, the Jury will hear you.

Mr. North. Pray my Lord, give me leave to aske *Creeke* one question? There were two Impressions Printed, did not you Print more in one, then in the other?

Creeke I am upon my Oath, to the best of my Remembrance I Printed the same that I did before, for I had some of it standing, and so I had the same Sheets again.

Mr. North. Had you no more?

Creeke. No, I had rather lesse.

Brewster. That's usuall, he that Prints the First, doth Print the same of the Second.

L. Hide. He saies he did so; what have you to say to the Charge?

Brewster. I conceive that part that I ordered the Printing of, is not included in the Indictment.

L. Hide. Yes every part; He sayes in both Impressions he Printed to the 36. *Folio*; and all the rest was Printed by your Direction.

Creeke. No my Lord, I Printed to the 36 *fol.* by his Direction, the rest was Printed else where.

J. Keeling. Your Indictment was This, For *Causing to be Printed this Book, called the Prayers, &c. And for selling and uttering of it*; For the Evidence, that you caused it to be Printed, he swears you directed some, and it is not likely you would Print half, and let the other half alone; we leave that to the Jury, for your uttering that anon.

L. Hide. There are these two particular Charges in the Indictment, that you must answer; The First, is your causing it to be Printed; and it is not essential, or of necessity that every particular that is in the Indictment be proved to be done by you; You caused this Book to be Printed, with such a Title: That he swears he did for you, then let the Jury, or any man living Judge whether you did direct the Book to be wholly perfected, or by halves: The second

Charge is, that you *Uttered* them : You delivered five hundred of these to be stitched up, and disposed of them, so that you are in Effect both Printer and Publisher of the whole Book.

Brewster He speaks of one part that I ordered, there is no more proof, and that was but to the 36. page ; he speaks also of some body else that was present with me ; and where they had the rest of the Copy Printed, he tells you he knows not.

L. Hide. Have you any more to say ?

Brewster. Yes my Lord, Though he saies, I caused that part to be Printed, yet he doth not say, I did it maliciously, or with any design against the Government.

L. Hide. The thing speaks it self.

Brewster. Book-Sellers do not use to read what they sell.

L. Hide. You have forgot what he Swore ; You brought the Proof.

Brewster. He did not swear that, he saies Mr. *Calvert's* Man, and sometimes others.

L. Hide. Ask him again.

Creeke. I did Declare, that the proofs were sent for, and carried away and Read, sometimes by Mr. *Calvert's* Man, and others, and sometimes by his *Servants*, not by *Himself*, they were wrapt up and sent.

L. Hide. For a man to pretend he did not know, when he being Master, sends for the proofes by his Servant ; for any man to suppose this is not the Masters Act ; (nay and directing it to be done privately,) you shall never find a man Guilty ; They were sold in his Shop.

Brewster. The grand part of the Indictment lies that it was done Maliciously, and Seditiously, and then it saies Knowingly ; Though it be granted I did do it, and sell it, yet it does not follow that I did it Maliciously, and Seditiously ; I did it in my Trade, we do not use to read what we put to Print or Sell ; I say my Lord, selling of Books is our Trade, and for the bare Exercising of it, knowing nothing

thing of evil in it, it came out in a time too, when there were no Licensers, or appointed rules; so that what ever was done we are not accountable for, for we read very seldom more than the Title; that some of the Jury knows, so that I hope I cannot be said to do it maliciously or knowingly. I can give testimony I am no person given to sedition, but have been ready to appear upon all occasions against it.

L. Hide. Have you any more? if you have, say it.

Brewster. My Lord, They are the sayings of dying men, commonly printed without opposition.

L. Hide. Never.

Brewster. I can instance in many, The Bookseller only minds the getting of a penny; That declares to the world, that as they lived such desperate lives, so they died; so that it might shew to the world, the Justice in their punishment, and so I think it a benefit, far from Sedition; It was done so long ago too, it was not done in private, it went commonly up and down the streets, almost as common as a Diurnal: it's three years and a quarter ago, or thereabouts.

J. Tirrel. You speak of your behaviour, have you any testimony here?

Brewster. I do expect some Neighbours; Maj. Gen. Brown knows me, Capt. Sheldon, Capt. Colchester, and others; I can give a very good account as to my behaviour ever since.

L. Hide. Say what you will, and call your Witnesses, and make as much speed as you can.

J. Keeling. There is another Indictment against you, and while that is trying your Neighbours may come.

Brewster. My Lord I shall desist for the present.

Serj. Morton. May it please your Lordship and you Gentlemen of the Jury; I am of Council for the King against *Tho. Brewster*, Bookseller; that stands here Indicted for that he, contrary to the duty of his Allegiance which he

owes to our Sovereign Lord the King, he did cause maliciously a seditious and scandalous Book to be printed; wherein there are divers scandalous clauses contained that are in disparagement of the Kings Royal Prerogative, and against his Government, Crown and Dignitie; and likewise that he has sold and uttered the same Books in contempt of his Majesties Laws. This is the effect of the Indictment; It has been proved to you by four Witnesses, that for which he stands Indicted: First, that *he did cause part of the Book to be Printed*; that's clearly proved by Creek; likewise, that *he has sold, and uttered those Books in his Shop*; nay he confesses that he did, and saies they were sold open'y. as a *Diurnal*, and therefore he thinks it was lawful for him to do it; he has gone about to make a defence of this his seditious behaviour; he tells you he did not print all the Book; it is not said that he printed such and such a Letter of the Book, but that he caused such a Book to be printed; and it is to be presumed, if he caused one part, he would cause the other, or otherwise it would be a Book of maimed sence and imperfect. Gentlemen, for the uttering, and selling of them, that himself confesses; you have heard the excuses he hath made, whether you will not find him Guilty of this crime, that I must leave to you, and to the direction of the Court.

L. Hide. You of the Jury, you see the Indictment is for causing a libellous and seditious Book to be printed, under such a Title, that is, *The Speeches and Prayers, &c.* It is for causing this, seditiously, factiously and wickedly to be printed: and for selling and publishing it abroad to the Kings people: For the matter of Evidence, you have heard it; I will not repeat the particulars to you, only something to what he has said, that you may not be misled. First, He saies it does not appear, that he did it *maliciously* or *knowingly*, there are some things that you that are of the Jury are not to expect Evidence for, which it is impossible

possible to know but by the Act it self: malice is conceived in the heart; no man knows it unless he declares it. As in Murder; I have malice to a man, no man knows it; I meet this man, and kill him; the Law calls this *malice*. If a man speak scandalous words against a man in his calling, or trade, he laies his action, *Malice*, though he cannot prove it but by the words themselves. If I say a Printer, or Stationer is an ignorant person, has no skill in his Trade, I would not have any man to deal with him, he understands not how to Set Letters, or the like: here is nothing of malice at all appears, yet if you bring your Action, you must lay it, *Maliciously*; it is the destroying your Trade, and you will have damages. I instance in this particular, that you may see there is *malice*, supposed to a particular private person in that slander, much more to the King, and the State. The thing it self, in causing a Book to be printed, that is so full of scandals and lies, to inveigle, misguide, and deceive the people, this is in construction of the Law, *Malice*; though no malice appear further. The next is this; *factiously, seditiously, knowingly*; This carries *sedition*, as well as *malice*. Such a barbarous transcendent wretch, that murdered his Prince, without the least colour of Justice, to declare that *he rejoiced in his bonds*, and that *the Martyrs would willingly come from Heaven to suffer for it*: horrid blasphemy! *all the Saints that engaged in it, to wish that they had sealed it with their blood*! what can you have more to incourage and incite the people to the killing of Kings, and murdering their lawful Prince! This they publish, and say it was spoken publicly, let it be upon his own soul that did it; for in case he did it, no man knew it but those that heard it: But to publish it all over England, (3000. of the first Impression, and a second) This is to fill all the Kings Subjects with the justification of that horrid murder; I will be bold to say, *Not so horrid a villany has been done upon the face of the earth, since the crucifying*
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of our Saviour. To Print, and publish this, is Sedition. The next thing is your Trade: I have a Calling to use, and I may justify the using of it, so long as I use it lawfully; but that must not justify me: in all manner of wickedness against the King, and State. As if a Lawyer (I will put it in my own Coat) pleads a mans Cause, and against the King; this is justifiable, he ought to plead for his Client, but he must plead as becomes him; if a Lawyer in defence of his Client will speak Sedition, do you think he is free from being punished: so of a Printer; if a Printer prints *sedition* and *factious* Books, he must look to himself; that's no part of his Calling, to poison the Kings people; so though printing of a Book be lawful, he must use it as the Law appoints him, and not to incite the people to faction: Writing of Letters, you know it is common and lawful, but if I write Treasonable Letters, give notice to Rise, do such and such unlawful acts, I am to be punished for these Letters: A Printer he is a publick Agent, he is to do what he is able to answer, or else he must take what follows. He saies there was *no Act against him*; It is true, you see he is not Indicted upon the *Statute*, but at the *Common Law*, for an offence in the nature of a *Libel*. If I were a Printer and would compile a Pamphlet against a man, though not in Authority, and disparage him, this is the publishing of a *Libel*; and an offence for which he ought to be Indicted, and punished by the *Common Law*, and he that prints that *Libel* against me as a publick person, or against me as Sir Robert Hyde; That Printer, and he that sets him at work must answer it, much more when against the King, and the State. Another thing is this, he talks to you of *dying mens words*; if men will be so vile to be as wicked at their deaths, as they had been in their lives; put the Case of that man on *Saturday*, convicted for printing a horrible villainous thing, if he will be so unchristian to himself, as to justify this at his death, or to

Speak as bad as he had caused to be Printed, what a Justification to publish them, because they are the words of a dying man! God forbid! a Robber declares at the Gallows, it is for a Noble Cause, for raising a Purse upon the highway, that it is an unjust Law to condemn to death for such Crimes: Shall any man publish this in Print, and not be lyable to be punished for it? If any that were tryed here upon Saturday, shall vilifie the Lord Mayor, or any of the Bench, traduce them for doing of Justice, shall this go unpunished, if a man take it up and print it? This I speak to let you see, this is without colour of Law; He pretended he did it not knowingly; I will not repeat the Evidence, He sent for them, had them stitched, caused them to be kept privately; (not upon the Stall) And observe, he tells you it was done long agoe; it is but three years agoe, that they were as publicly sold as Diurnals, he says: I shall repeat no more, I know you are men of understanding, and of obedience to your King; it is high time to take notice of this dispersing of Pamphlets, if therefore you do believe that he did cause it to be Printed, or published it, or both, he is guilty of the Misdemeanour said in the Indictment; (and he hath a great kindness in that it is not made Capital) If you do believe, that he did either cause it to be Printed, or Published, that's enough to find him guilty of this Indictment.

Ct. Hearken to the other Indictment, He stands Indicted in London, &c. and this is for causing to be Printed a certain Book, called the Phant, &c. publishing the same, [the Indictment was wholly read]. To this Indictment he hath pleaded, not guilty; so your Issue is to inquire whether he be guilty of this offence or not guilty.

Mr. North, [Opened the Indictment in manner as before.] To this he hath pleaded not guilty, if the Charge of the Indictment be sufficiently proved, you are to find him guilty.

Ser]. *Morton*, May it please your Lordship, and you gentlemen of the Jury, here is another Bill of Indictment preferred against *Tho. Brewster*, it is that contrary to the duty of his Allegiance to his Sovereign Lord the King, and purposely to incite the people to Sedition, and to withdraw them from their natural Allegiance to the King, he hath caused to be imprinted, maliciously, falsely, and scandalously, a certain scandalous book entitled, *The Phoenix*, &c. And this he hath done to disturb the Peace of the Kingdom, and to withdraw the people from their Allegiance, and to the scandal of his Majesty and Government, he hath caused this book to be Printed, uttered, and sold, and this we take to be a great offence against the King, his Crown, and Dignity. Gentlemen, the dispersing of Seditious Books is of great danger to the Kingdom, false Rumours they are the main incentives that stir up the people to Sedition and Rebellion, that raise discontentments among the people, and then presently they are up in Arms. Dispersing seditious Books is very near a kin to raising of Tumults, they are as like as Brother and Sister; Raising of Tumults is the more Masculine, and Printing and Dispersing Seditious books, is the Feminine part of every Rebellion. But we shall produce our Witnesses; We shall prove that this *Tho. Brewster* caused this book to be Printed, that when it was Printed, he did receive three hundred; that that he caused to be stitched up; that he uttered, and sold them, part in his own Shop, and part elsewhere. It being an offence of that great and dangerous consequence, which tends to the disturbance of the Peace of the Kingdom: I hope you will take it into your serious consideration, and if the matter stand proved against him, you will give him his due demerit.

Creek, Thresher, Loft, and Badvel sworn again.

Mr. *North. Creek*, Tell my Lord and the Jury what you know of the printing of the book called *The Phoenix*.

Creek.

Creek. My Lord, it was in *May*, that *Mr. Calvert*, *Brewster*, and *Chapman* brought that book to me to Print.

L. Ch. Ju. Hide. What book? name it.

Creek. The *Phoenix*, &c. It was printed for them three. All that I can say, is, that *Mr. Brewster's* part was delivered to me by his direction.

L. Ch. Ju. Hide. Who paid you for printing of it?

Creek. *Mr. Brewster* paid for his part.

J. Keeling. How many was his part?

Creek. His part of 2000. that was 200. and odd.

L. Ch. Ju. Hide. These three men joyn'd to bear each man his share?

Creek. Yes, every man was to have his share.

J. Keeling. Did he wish you to do it with privacy?

Creek. Yes, with expedition and privacy.

Brewster. Was the Copy written, or printed?

Creek. It was all printed formerly, some in *quarto*, some in *octavo*, and might have been bought single in any place almost.

L. Ch. Ju. Hide. What do you mean by all printed formerly?

Creek. My Lord, they were in several parcels printed, there was *Mr. Calamy's* Sermon, and *Mr. Douglas's* Sermon, and the rest.

J. Keeling. How long agoe was it since they were brought to you to print?

Creek. It was in *May*, three years.

Brewster. Did I order you how you should print them, or *Mr. Calvert*? Did not you hear him say, that they had staid two hours for me at an Ale-house to be his Partner?

Creek. I did hear him say so.

J. Keeling. What made you so loath to be their Partner, were they two hours perswading of you?

Creek. No, they waited two hours for him to be their Partner.

Serj. Morton. Thresher, did Brewster deliver any of those books to you to sell up?

Thresher. Yes, and please you my Lord, and I had them by Mr. Brewster's order to sell.

Serj. Morton. How many?

Thresher. To the number of 2. or 300.

Mr. North. Did he not enjoy your privacy?

Thresher. Yes, I think he did.

J. Keeling. VVhen they were bound, had you a Note to deliver those Books safely to any?

Thresher. Yes, from his own hand; he desired me to go and give them to such and such Persons, Bookellers: said I, I shall hardly remember them; he thereupon gave me a Note of their Names to whom I should deliver them; I judge they were to be trusted more then others.

Serj. Morton. Did you deliver them accordingly?

Thresher. Yes, I did.

L. Chief Justice. How many did you deliver in that manner?

Thresher. Two dozen and more.

J. Keeling. If you will ask him any Questions, do.

Brewster. Did I give you any order to deliver them to any particular Bookellers?

Thresher. Yes, you did; I believe Mr. LeStrange, and Mr. Williams (one of the Jury) can remember I shewed them the paper and note to that purpose.

Mr. Williams. I did see the Note.

Brewster. I do not remember I gave you any Order, they were all common things before.

J. Keeling. You may ask him what Questions you will.

Brewster. I shall ask him no more.

Mr. North. Peter Boduel, shew what you know concerning the selling or uttering of the book called the Phoenix, &c.

Boduel. I never knew of the Printing of them, I never knew my Master sell any of them, nor heard him give order for selling of them.

J. Keeling. Did you sell any of them for him?

Boduel.

Bodvel. I think I did sell some.

Serj. Morton. Were they in the Shop to be sold?

Bodvel. Yes, they were.

L. Ch. J. Hide. Were they in the Shop publickly, with the Title Page lying open upon the Stall as other books do, when they are newly out?

Bodvel. We seldom did so with bound books.

J. Keeling. Where were the books found when they were seized?

Bodvel. I think they were in some of the upper Rooms.

J. Keeling. Where were they found by the Oath you have taken?

Bodvel. That Mr. LeStrange can tell better then I, I did not see him find any of them.

L. Ch. Ju. Hide. By the Oath you have taken, where was the place whence you were to search them, when you were to sell them?

Bodvel. In the Hall, the Room over the Shop.

L. Ch. Ju. Hide. Were they put up privately?

Bodvel. They were so.

J. Keeling. What private place was that?

Bodvel. It was a hole in the wall.

J. Tirrel. By whose direction were they laid there?

Bodvel. I know not, whether by his, or my Mistis.

J. Keeling. Were not some found under the bed?

Bodvel. I heard that Mr. LeStrange found some of the Titles under the bed.

Serj. Mor. I think it is enough, what say you to it Friend?

L. Ch. Ju. Hide. Observe this, and answer it, it appears that you and two more, (Calvert and Chapman) did agree with Creek for Printing this book, (several parcels drawn into one Volume) and you were to bear each of you a third part, and to have a third part of the books; he swears you did both pay your part, and had your part of the books. These books were Printed before, & so they were common enough, and therefore you must needs know.

know what was in them. The third full part was brought to you, and delivered by your appointment; you gave a nore how they should be disposed of; and you owned them not in publick. (*your own soul told you they were not to be justified*) two dozen were delivered privately to particular persons, by your direction; lay these things together, and now answer them; For the Indictment is that you *caused such a Book to be Printed and published.*

Brewster. In the first place, the Evidence does say, that Mr. Calvert did acknowledge when he gave him the Copy to Print, that he staid so long for me in order to be their Partner, he that was the Collector of it together: They were all printed before, and printed by *License*; for the books I never read them; we seldome read the books we sell, being they were before Printed, and with License sold single, (as the Gentlemen of the Jury know) I thought there was no Crime to print them all together: It was done in an *Interval* when there were no Licensers, we knew not where to go; what has been Printed formerly, we took it for granted it might be Reprinted, till this late Act for Printing; and this was done before this Act.

J. Keeling. Have you any more to say?

Brewster. No my Lord, I shall leave it to the Jury, but my Lord, here are now some Neighbours to testifie that I am no such person as the Indictment sets forth, that I did *Maliciously*, and *Seditiously*, do such and such things.

L. Ch. Ju. Hide. We will hear them, though I'll tell you it will not much matter; the *Law* sayes it is *Malice*.

Capt. Sheldon Sworn. My Lord, all that I can say, is, he was ready at beat of Drum upon all occasions, what he has been guilty of by Printing or otherwise, I am a stranger to that, I know he was of civil behaviour and deportment amongst his Neighbours.

J. Keeling. It is very ill that the King hath such trained Souldiers in the Band.

Capt. Hanson, and others, offered to like purpose.

L. Ch.

L. Ch. Ju. *Hide*. If you have a thousand to this purpose only, what signifies it ?

J. *Keeling*. Are you his Captain ?

Capt. *Sheldon*. No my Lord, Capt. *Bradshaw*.

L. Ch. Ju. *Hide*. He should be cashier'd the Band ; not but that he should be charged with Armes. I'll tell you, do not mistake your self, the Testimony of your civil Behaviour, going to Church, appearing in the Train'd Bands, going to *Pauls*, being there at *Common-Service*, this is well ; but you are not charged for this, a man may do all this, and yet be a naughty man in printing abusive books, to the misleading of the Kings Subjects. If you have any thing to say as to that, I shall be glad to find you Innocent.

Brewster. I have no more to say.

L. Ch. Ju. *Hide*. Then you of the Jury, there are some things in this Indictment (as in the other) necessary to be stated to you, My Brothers and I have consulted here about it, the Indictment is for causing a Factious and Seditious book called the *Phoenix*, &c. with divers other things therein to be Printed. But pray let them see the Book, and compare it with the Indictment.

Cl. [Reads the Indictment, and first the Title] The *Phoenix, or the Solemn League and Covenant*. [Edinburg, Printed in the Year of Covenant-Breaking] A King abusing his Power, to the overthrow of Religion, Lawes, and Liberties, which are the very Fundamentals of this Contract and Covenant, may be controlled and opposed. And if he set himself to Overthrow all these by Armes, then they who have Power, as the Estates of a Land, may and ought to Resist by Armes : because he doth by that Opposition break the very Bonds, and overthrow the Essentials of this Contract and Covenant. This may serve to Justifie the proceedings of this Kingdom against the late King, who in a Hostile way set himself to overthrow Religion, Parliaments, Lawes and Liberties. [The rest is much at the same Rate, only now and then a spice of Blasphemy for the Credit of the Holy-League] A greater Sin (is the Breach of that Scotch Cove-

Covenant, according to our Author, pag. 148.) then a *Sin* against a *Commandment* or against an *Ordinance*, &c.]

L. Ch. Ju. *Hide*. You of the Jury, you see the Indictment agrees with the Book; there's a great deal of Mercy that this man hath not been Indicted of *Treason*; for those very particulars you have heard, are as high *Treason* as can be. First, He doth declare, 'That the King abusing his Power, the people may resist and take up Arms against him; that's express *Treason* without any more ado: Then he tells you what a horrid thing it is to break that *Solemn League and Covenant*; justifies the raising of Arms, and Rebellion against the late King, un-Throning, and Murdering of him. I tell you, that *Solemn League and Covenant*, was a most wicked and ungodly thing; against the Law of God, and the Law of the Land: To have such Villanous stuff to be published, it is a great Mercy of the King, it had not been drawn higher; You see the man is so far from acknowledging any Guilt, that he justifies the Fact.

Brewster. No my Lord, I do not Justifie my self.

L. Ch. Ju. *Hide*. Yes, you do! The Printer Swears he was to go Share and Share like; he had his part, he publishes them to some particular Friends; I say he Justifies this. He tells you in his Defence, that it was commonly printed, that it was done by printed Copie; and that done formerly by Licence; and when things are printed by Licence, they do not expect or need any New, or second Licence; they were commonly sold asunder, here they are only printed together: That he sayes is nothing. What is this but Justifying the printing of it? Observe, Weigh, and see what kind of Defence here is. The Title, what is it? *The Phoenix, or Solemn League and Covenant*; you all know it, and rue it; When was it printed? It was when the Wicked Rebels here could not Seduce sufficient numbers of the Kings Subjects to support their Rebellion, and then they Invite their Dear Brethren (as they called them) the *Scots* to Unite with them. The *Scots* were Cunning, they would

would not do it till they had entered into a *Covenant*, in a *League*, and then they consent to Unite with the Rebels here; This *League* and *Covenant* was indeed in defence of the King, but how long? so long as he defended them (the *Presbytery* and *Scotch Discipline*) when they had got this Good King into their hands, they put what terms upon him they pleased; and then were these Seditious Sermons printed. *Douglas* his was printed in *Scotland*; Was it Licensed here? No, it was done there, and brought hither. Then, for the other Sermon, by what Licence was that printed? Observe the time when it was printed, was it not to set forward Rebellion? to set up the *Scotch Presbytery*? And this in 45. when they were in Arms against the King, after the King put himself upon his defence, and was at *Oxford*; Do you tell me of the Licence of *Rebels*? Then for your *Justification*; Now; when the King is so happily returned, now to publish these things a fresh to the people, that they might do the same again! And I tell you once again, *It is mercy in the King that he was not Indicted of Treason*. I shall leave it to you, you have had it fully proved.

Clark. Set *Simon Dover* to the Bar. [and here the Indictment is read.]

Mr. North. [Opens this Indictment at the rest.]

Serj. Morton. We have but two Witnesses, and they will prove the matter clearly; there were two Impressions of this book, we will prove he had a share in both of them.

Creek. [Sworn again.] I delivered before what I can say.

J. Keeling. Look you, you must deliver all that evidence over again, because it concerns another person.

Creek. I did say, and say still, that to the best of my memory, Mr. *Dover* did print part of that book, and that he and I did converse about it in the time it was doing, but I

cannot

cannot swear it positively, because I cannot remember the time when, or the place where.

Ju. Keeling. Did you change sheets with him?

Creek. With him, I cannot say, but some sheets were changed by our men.

Serj. Morton. You say you think you had some discourse with him; did not you speak about the danger of printing it?

Creek. We talked of making an end of it.

Serj. Morton. Can you remember to what Letter you printed?

Creek. I have shewed the Gentlemen of the Jury.

Ju. Keeling. Had you no discourse of the danger of it?

Creek. I thought it could not come to any thing, I did tell Sir R. Brown (then Lord Mayor) that if they hanged twenty more, I thought I should print their Speeches.

Ju. Keeling. You knew the contents of the book?

Creek. Yes I did.

Ju. Keeling. Such men as you, the King and the Government hath a great interest in your Trade; that you should think it lawful to print what a man says when he dies, and to scatter it abroad though never so bad, its a great offence; I would not have it pass for so clear a thing.

L. Ch. Ju. Hide. If you are of such Principles to print what you list, you are not fit to live in a civil place, for a Printer, or Bookeller to print any thing one against the other, is actionable.

L. Ch. Ju. Hide. Do you think the Press is open to print what you list?

Creek. I did so then.

L. Ch. Ju. Hide. Ple deal plainly with you; for this book, if you had had your due, you ought both to have been drawn hang'd and quarter'd.

L. Ch. Ju. Hide. When did you give Mr. L'Estrange information of this matter?

Creek. Late;ly, when I was a Prisoner in Ludgate.

Mr.

Mr. Roylton. [One of the Jury.] I desire to ask him one Question, whether Mr. Creek saw this book at printing at Mr. Doyers house, or no?

Creek. No I did not.

Serj. Morton. They changed sheets.

Thresher. This is all that I have to say, that the first night that Mr. Brewster sent for me to stitch these books, it was very late before we could get them. I went at eight to Mr. Doyers, and had some of the sheets, the rest as Mr. Creek, I did not see him print any of them.

Serj. Morton. What quantity was there of them?

Thresher. I suppose there was two or three hundred sheets.

Mr. North. Were they not of this book?

Thresher. Yes, of the Speeches.

Mr. North. Where were they delivered?

Thresher. In the lower room, I suppose some of them were hanging upon lines before I had them.

Ch. Ju. Hide. What say you to it?

Dover. I desire to ask him some Questions. I do say, I never saw the man before, I would ask whether ever he saw me before in his life?

Thresher. Not before that, I was never in his house but that night, by this token I saw you, and you me; when I came for the sheets, you asked Mr. Brewster whether he and Mr. Calvert were agreed, for else you would not deliver the sheets.

Dover. I desire to know what time and place I am charged in the Indictment on a day and place.

L. Ch. Ju. Hide. That's not very material.

Dover. He fixes nothing on me.

L. Ch. Ju. Hide. That the Jury can best tell; have you any more questions?

Dover. Nay my Lord, and those sheets hanging

(40)
[The Indictment and Books were Compared.]

Dover. My Lord, there is no Person swears that I Printed it, or part of it; Nothing fixed upon me.

L. C. J. Hide. The first man swears that you set it to Printing.

Creek. I do not swear it positively, I never saw him Print a sheet; it was the report of the Town that he did it.

L. Ch. Ju. Hide. You printed it: for whom?

Creek. For *Blessier*, *Calvert*, and *Chapman*.

L. Ch. Ju. Hide. But you say that you and he did converse about it when it was Printing.

Creek. I did say to the best of my memory, we did.

L. Ch. Ju. Hide. By the Oath you have taken, who did you change sheets with?

Creek. I cannot say, I did change any with him; I say that some sheets were changed by my men; and they told me they had them of his men.

Dover. Where are those men that changed the sheets, which of my men were they?

J. Keeling. Look you **Dover**, you are indicted for causing to be Printed this wicked Book, and for publishing and Vending of it; You are a Printer by your Trade, as well as this man that comes against you, he says he did not see you Print it, but he took it and believed that you Printed it; I tell you how far that weighs; You are a Printer by Trade, and comes the other and desires the sheets, you would not deliver them unless *Mr. Blessier*, and *Mr. Calvert* were agreed; How come the sheets to your house, being a Printer, and yet you not print it? Answer that.

Dover. I shall my Lord, it is no consequence at all; Admit I had these sheets, it is no consequence at all that I printed them; For Printers and Bookfellers usually have books they did not print themselves.

L. Ch. Ju. Hide. *Thresher*, by the Oath that you have taken, did you see those sheets hang upon the line in his house?

Thresher,

Threſers. My Lord, I judged theſe had lately hung up, and I ſaw other ſheets hanging there, and I knew nothing to the contrary, but that thoſe that hung upon the line were the ſame with theſe.

L. Ch. J. Hide. Here are ſheets upon the lines, you delivered him too ſold part of thoſe on the lines: what would you have more plain! You would not deliver them if they were not agreed; then they were agreed, and you delivered them.

Dover. I ſay this, I look upon the Witneſs to be altogether invalid, he is a perſon of no good repute.

L. Ch. Ju. Hide. A better man than you, for ought appears; you are indiſted for a foul offence, ſo is not he?

Dover. I am not the man you take me to be.

L. Ch. Ju. Hide. You ſhall have Evidence if you will, that you are at work at this time, upon as bad as this.

Dover. If it be a crime, I am ſorry for it.

Mr. Leſrange ſworn.

Mr. Leſrange. Shall I ſpeak to the whole matter, or only to the particular you laſt mentioned?

L. Ch. Ju. Hide. Say your knowledge.

Mr. Leſrange. When I came to his houſe, which was about the middle of *October*, to ſearch, I found at that preſent a little Unlicenced *Quaking* book, and in his pocket the Libel that was thrown up and down the Town, called, *Murder will out*, ready printed.

L. Ch. Ju. Hide. Which was a Villanous thing and ſcattered at *Lox*.

Mr. Leſrange. Since that, I was at his houſe to compare a *Flower*, which I found in the *Pamphlet* (a dangerous Pamphlet) that *Flower*; that is, the very ſame border, I found in his houſe, the ſame mixture of Letter, great and ſmall in the ſame Caſe, and I took a Copy off the Preſs: I found over and above, this Letter [producing the Letter]

dated

dated the 7th of February, 1663; and directed, For my dear and loving Wife, J. Dover. Is it your Lordships pleasure, I shall read it all?—[As none would, she reads it.]

L. Ch. Ju. Hide. If it be touching the printing of things, you found, do it and no more upon this.

Mr. L'Estrange. [Reads it.] I would fain see my Sister Mary; therefore since Sister Hobbs will not come, take her Order; and instead of her Name, put in Sister Marys; it will never be Questioned here; However, do it as wisely, and handsomely as you can; &c. [And then in a P. S.] You must either get Tom Porter, or some very trusty Friend (possibly C. D. may help you) to get for you a safe and convenient Room to dry books in, as soon as possibly you can. [And again.] Let me know what you intend to do with the two sheets and half; I will have it published when I am certain it shall be tried.

L. Ch. Ju. Hide. Let the Jury see now, whether you are the man you would be thought.

Dover. I desire to know whether my name be to that letter.

Mr. L'Estrange. No it is not.

L. Ch. Ju. Hide. Where did you receive or find this Letter?

Mr. L'Estrange. My Lord, I found it about his Wife.

L. Ch. Ju. Hide. Let the Jury judge if this come from you or no.

J. Keeling. You of the Jury, you must understand this, that what is said now, is only upon his Reputation, not to the point in question at all; that matter rests upon it's own bottom.

L. Ch. Ju. Hide. We deal plainly with you. Had he not stood upon such terms, I should not have spoke of this; but where a man will be thus bold and confident, I thought it proper to let you see how he continues now in the Goal.

Dover. I do not vindicate my self in it; but I speak against the witness, I do conceive that the witness does not fix anything upon me.

L. Ch. Ju. Hide. Have you anything else to say to the Indictment?

Dover.

Dover. I am Indicted as a Malicious and Factional man, the witnesses sayes no such thing.

L. Ch. Ju. Hide. You are not Indicted so, but that you have Maliciously, and Factionally caused to be Printed such a Seditious Book, not your Person, but the *Alition*.

Dover. There is nothing of that proved; admit I was guilty of it, it was done when there was no Act or Law in being touching Printing. The witnesses do not swear positively that I did do it; one sayes, he did not see me, the other, that he only Believed it; that he did see some sheets upon the line, and they were the same for ought he knew; Does not remember the time or place of our discourse. I do not know that ever I had half an hours discourse with him in my life: I never had any meeting with him about any such matter, nor had any converse with him. The Title of the book sayes, [*Faithfully and Impartially collected for further satisfaction,*] To that it cannot be interpreted maliciously; it's a *Maxime* in Law, that the best interpretations are to be put upon the words of the Indictment, in favour of the prisoner at the bar; and I hope this Honourable Bench and the Jury will mind that; I am a Printer by trade, what I did was for my livelyhood; the Scripture sayes, *He is worse than an Infidel that takes not care for his Family*: I speak not this to Justifie any thing against his Majesty or his Government, through my ignorance I may possibly transgress, if I have done any such thing, I am sorry for it, I hope I shall be more careful for the future: The other part of the Indictment is for selling of them; no man Swears that I sold one book of them; Mr. Creek saies, that some of his men told him, that he had some of those sheets from some of my folkes, but of whom he does not say: That I did meddle with them, knowing them to be scandalous, I hope there is nothing proved of that nature; there being then no Law, I humbly hope there was no Transgression.

L. Ch. Ju. Hide. Have you done?

Dover. I humbly desire your Honour, and this Jury, to take notice of what I have said.

L. Ch.

L. Ch. Ju. Hale. You of the Jury, I will not spend time (it is too late) in repeating the Evidence, you have heard the Evidence particularly, and his answer; he doth in part make the same answer with his fellowes; which was, that it is his Trade: It's true, no doubt but he ought to maintain his Wife and Children, by his lawful Calling; but if a Thief should tell you that he maintained his Wife by Stealing, is that lawful? Printing books lawfully, no man will call him to account for it; but if he prints that that is abusive to the King and his Government, that's no part of his trade, and his trade will not bear him out in it: He is charged for Printing and publishing of these scandalous books, that he did it *Knowingly, Maliciously, Falsly, Falsely, and Seditiously*; I told you, that although all these things be not proved, yet if he did it, the Law calls it *Malice, Falsity, and Sedition*; Consider the circumstances, you see it is done in the dark; the sheets delivered at his house, and discourse about delivery of them, he would not deliver them unless *Brewster* and *Calvert* were agreed; I leave the Evidence to you, in this case, pregnant strong undeniable Circumstances, are good Evidences: Though a man doth not come and tell you, he declared to him he knew what was contained in this book, yet if there be sufficient Evidence to satisfy you in your Consciences, that he knew what was in it, and was privy to the Printing and publishing of it; there's enough for you to find the Indictment. You are to weigh circumstances, as well as pregnant full proof, in cases of this nature.

Clark. Set *Nathan Brooks* to the Bar; You of the Jury, you shall understand that he stands *Indicted*, &c. Reads the *Indictment*.

Mr. North, Afterwards opened the Indictment.

Serj. Morton. This man, we shall only prove him guilty of stirring, and dispersing the said books.

Brewster.

Thresher [Sworn] This man I have not seen these three Years.

Serj. Morton. Did he set you to work in stitching those books?

Thresher. He brought none to me that I can remember; but by Mr. *Brewster's* order I delivered, about 200, or thereabouts, and carried them to his house in *St. Martins*, and he took them at the *Stair-foot*, and paid me for stitching of them in *blew paper*.

Serj. Morton. Who furnishe I you with blew paper?

Thresher. I went by Mr. *Brewster's* order to a Stationer in *Breadstreet*, and received some.

Brooks. I desire to know whether in those books, he said he delivered me, there were those passages in the *Indictment*.

Thresher. I know not; they were the *Speeches and Prayers* that I delivered you.

Brooks. How did you deliver them to me?

Thresher. They were *Stitcht*, and I tyed them up with a piece of *packthread*, and carried them to him; he received them himself, and came afterwards to an *Ale-house*, and gave me a Flagon of Beer; he knew what they were, for some being Imperfect, he said Mr. *Brewster* must make them good; and Mr. *Brewster* gave order, if he came for them, they should be delivered him.

Brooks. Did you know there were those passages in them?

Thresher. No not I.

Brooks. I knew only the Title of it.

L. Ch. Ju. Hide. Let there be what there will in it, if you knew the Title, look you to it; have you any thing else to ask?

Brooks. No my Lord.

Henry Mortlock Sworn.

Serj. Morton. Mr. *Mortlock*, How many of those books

did

did you receive of this Nathan Brooks?

Mortlock. About fourty or fifty.

Serj. Morton. What talk had you about receiving them?

Mortlock. I do not remember any discourse.

Serj. Morton. Where did you receive them?

Mortlock. I am not certain, whether in my shop, or no.

L. Ch. Ju. Hide. Were they open?

Mortlock. They were tyed up.

L. Ch. Ju. Hide. Did you speak for them?

Mortlock. I cannot tell, he brought them to me.

L. Ch. Ju. Hide. How came he to bring them to you?

Mortlock. May be I might speak for them, I paid him for them.

L. Ch. Ju. Hide. You and he knew what book it was?

Mortlock. I think we did.

L. Ch. Ju. Hide. Did you not open them? They might have been the Devil of Edmonton, for ought you knew. Did you open them afterward, and did they appear to be this book?

Mortlock. Yes.

Mr. L'Estrange. Sworn.

Mr. L'Estrange. I came to the house of Nathan Brooks, about October last, and knocking at the door, they made a difficulty to let me in; At last seeing how to avoid it, Brooks opened the Door; I asked him, what he was? He told me, he was the Master of the house. By and by comes one that lodged in the house, and throws down this book [shewing the book] in the Kitchen, with this Expression; He not be hang'd (says he) for ne're a Rogue of you all; Do you hide your books in my Chamber? This book had the Speeches in it, with other Schismatical Treatises. After this I searched the next house, and there I found more difficulty to get in; but after a long stay, I saw the second Floor in a blaze, and then with a Smiths Sledge, I endeavour'd

vented to force the doors: At length, the fire was put out, and one comes down and opens the door: I went in, and up Staires where I found about 200. of the *Prelwick Preachers*, and certain Notes of *Nathan Brooks*, wherein he mentions the delivery of several of these Speeches, and other Seditious Pamphlets. There is one particular, wherein he records, that *Thomas Brewster* did in the presence of Captain *Hanson*, undertake to bear his charges of imprisonment. This *Nathan Brooks* having been formerly imprisoned for a crime, wherein *Brewster* was to bear him out.

L. Ch. J. *Hide*. What was it that burnt above said and Mr. L'Estrange. My Lord, they had burnt I suppose, some of the *Prelwick Preachers*, (a desperate book) I found one bundle untied, and I suppose (as the man told me after) that it was a part of that which was burnt.

L. Ch. Ju. *Hide*. You say this was in the next house to Brooks; what had Brooks to do there, had he conveyed those books thither?

Mr. L'Estrange. The owner of the house said, he knew nothing of them; but a man and his wife lodging in the Chamber where the fire was, said that *Nathan Brooks* had delivered with his own hands to them, those parcel of books that were there found.

L. Ch. Ju. *Hide*. You hear what he says; that one of your *Guilty* came down, said, he would not be hanged for he'd a *Right* of you all; Throws down the book—
Brooks. What's that to me? If a man have a book in his house, and throw it down, and say so, doth that concern me? He did not bring it out of my Chamber.

One Mercer sworn.

Mercer. My Lord, I having the book in his hand I this is the book that I did find in a Room brought up by *Nathan Brooks*, and I brought it down; I had it in a Room where two Boyes and my sister lay. He came first and knocke at

our Chamber door; said I, Who is there? sayes he, *A Friend, Who are you? Brookes your Landlord, saies he, pray you open the door, and lay up this book for me.* No said I, if you were my Father, or Brother, I will not receive it, I will not meddle or make with you. After I had denied the book, he flings it into the next Room.

L. Ch. Ju. *Hide.* How came you by the book?

Mercer. After Mr. *LeStrange* had inquired there for books, I knew nothing; but my Wife called to my Sister, and asked her if she heard Mr. *Brooks* in the Room; she said *Yes, and he had left a book with her:* Having notice, I went up stairs, took the book, and brought it down presently.

Brooks. Is that the book? the very individual book, that I brought up there?

L. Ch. Ju. *Hide.* He swears this, that you knocked, and prayed him to take in a book; he refused it. You went up to the next Chamber, and there you left it; and his Wife asking afterwards if you had been there; his Sister said, *Yes, you had left a book,* he brought it down, and this appears to be the very Individual book, nothing can be more clear.

Mercer's Wife Sworn.

That morning they knocked at *Brooks* his door, we were a bed, I heard a noise of *Thieves*; upon that I being awake, & my Husband asleep, I waked him, and desired him to go to the Window; he asked who was there? one said to him rise and open the Door; said my Husband I am but a Lodger; let my Landlord open it if he will. *Who is your Landlord?* Mr. *Brooks's*, That's the man I look for, sayes the other; so with that after some time Mr. *Brooks* went down and opened the door. Mr. *LeStrange* coming up to my Husband, sayes he, *Are you sure there is nothing in your Rooms?* There is nothing said he. When my Husband went down, I called to my Sister; said I, Did you hear Mr. *Brooks* there? *Yes,* said she, *he has left a book here:* said I, Do you know whats in it? it may

may bring us all into Trouble. And my Husband having confidently denyed any such thing, fearing he might be troubled, I called him up, and told him of it ; said my Husband, *I'll call up the Gentleman, and give it him*, no said I, go take the book and carry it him.

Mercers Sister Sworn.

Thomazin Mercer. It is very true that that is the very book I received from Mr. Brooks.

L. C. J. Hide. Now the individual book is brought to light. Brooks. What was the Title of it ?

T. Mercer. I know not, but there was the *Speeches of the ten men that were executed.*

Brooks. Did you see that book, that very book ?

T. Mercer. Yes.

One Mr. Merridale Sworn.

Mr. Merridale. My Lord, this very book did Mercer bring down, told us, *He would be hang'd for never a Rogue of them all ; did he think to lay his books at my door ?* I know this is the very book, I took notice of the Picture of Sir Hen. Vane in it ; and he there owned it.

Mercer. I can tell that he owned it, and said, it was brought to him to be bound.

L. Ch. Ju. Hide. Here are two hundred of these books are delivered to you to sell, fifty you deliver to another ; When Mr. L'Estrange comes to search, you open not your doors, when you see you could not stay longer, you run up to deliver it to Mercer your guest, he would not receive it ; you deliver it to his Sister, shee keeps it in her hands ; when her Husband had denyed books to be there, and his Wife understanding afterwards you had left it, she was afraid of her Husband for denying it, calls him, and gives him the book, and then he said, *He would be hang'd for never a Rogue of*
you :

you all; throws down the book, and that was the very book the received from you; and your self did own it and confess it.

Brooks. As for Mr. L'Estrange, it is not so; he says, when first he knocked at the door, I did not hear him, afterwards I called out who's there, said one, Which is Mr. Brooks? said I, here, I told them if they would be civil, I would open the door, give me but leave to put on my Breeches; I went and opened it; He doth not swear positively they are my books. My Lord, This Mercer was a lodger in my house; I have often desired him to pay his Rent, and since I have been taken, I have sent several messengers; I told him I would seize his goods, and thereupon he speaks against me maliciously. I desire you to consider, I being only a workman, how can I be guilty of Sedition and Scandalous things? I never printed any thing, I am only a book-blinder, that's my Trade: I hope you will consider that, I am only a bare workman. My Lord, I desire when they go out, that some body may stand at the door, that no body may go into the Jury.

L. Ch. Ju. Hide. We will take care of that; Have you any more to say?

Brooks. No my Lord.

L. Ch. Ju. Hide. You of the Jury, you have heard so much of the other Indictments of the same nature, I need not say much to this. That which he speaks touching his Trade, I must repeat the same as before; he is not questioned for using, but abusing of his Trade, for publishing and dispersing Sedicious and Scandalous Books, printing and publishing, but the evidence is only for publishing. If you be satisfied that he published it, that's the Crime; Printing alone is not enough, for if a man print a book to make a fire on, that's no offence, it is the publishing of it which is the Crime; You have heard the evidence, how far forth it is proved, two hundred delivered to him, fifty by him delivered to another; this book you see his own Conscience tells him what

what it was : when Mr. L'Estrange came, he would have slip't it into his Guests Chamber, he refused it ; then he carries it to another, lay your evidence together, if you find him guilty of the publishing, it is enough.

Jury. We desire to know upon what *Statute Law* this Indictment is grounded ?

L. Ch. Ju. Hide. Upon none, but it is an offence at *common Law*, I told you so at first.

— The *Jury* went forth, and after near an hours consultation returned to the Court, and took their places.

Cl. Are you all agreed of your Verdict ?

Jury. Yes.

Cl. Who shall say for you ?

Jury. The Foreman.

Cl. Set up the Prisoners to the Bar, how say you, is *Thos. Brewster* guilty of the Offence whereof he stands Indicted, for printing the Seditious book called *The Speeches*, &c. or not guilty ?

Foreman. Guilty of selling and uttering the said books.

Cl. What say you, is he guilty of the Offence of printing and publishing the book called *The Phoenix*, &c. or not guilty ?

Foreman. Guilty of publishing it.

Cl. How say you, is *Simon Dover* guilty of the Offence for printing and publishing *The Speeches*, &c. or not guilty ?

Foreman. Guilty.

Cl. How say you, is *Nathan Brooks* guilty of the Offence for printing and selling the said book ?

Foreman. Guilty of selling it.

Cl. Hearken to your Verdicts as the Court hath Recorded them ; You say, that &c. and so you say all ?

Jury. Yes.

Mr. North. My Lord, we humbly pray Sentence against the Prisoners.

L. Ch.

T. Ch. Ju. Hide. You three, *Tho. Brewster, Simon Dover, and Nathan Brooks;* you have been severally indicted for a Painous and great Offence; *Brewster,* you have been Indicted for two several books, as full of *Villany, and Slander, and Reproach,* to the King and Government, as possibly can be: and I will tell you all three, *It is the Kings great mercy you have not been Indicted Capitally;* for every one of those books are fill'd with *Treason,* and you for Publishing of them, by strictness of Law have forfeited your Lives, and All to the King; It is his Clemency towards ydu. You may see the Kings Purpose; He desires to Reform, not to Ruine his Subjects: The Press is grown so common, and men take the boldness to Print what ever is brought to them, let it concern whom it will; it is high time Examples be made. 1. I must let you and all men know, by the course of the Common Law, before this new Act was made, for a Printer, or any other, under pretence of Printing, to Publish that which is a Reproach to the King, to the State, to his Government, to the Church, nay, to a Particular person, it is Punishable as a Misdemeanour. He must not say, *He knew not what was in it;* that is no Answer in Law. I speak this, because I would have men avoid this for time to come, and not think to shelter themselves under such a Pretence. I will not spend time in discoursing of the nature of the Offence, it hath been declared already; it is so High, that truly the highest Punishment that by Law may be justly inflicted, is due to you. But *Tho. Brewster,* your Offence is double; therefore the Judgement of the Court is, That

You shall pay to the King for these Offences committed, 100. Marks; And for you (the other two) Simon Dover, and Nathan Brooks, You shall pay either of you, a Fine of 40 Marks to the King.

You shall, either of you, severally stand upon the Pillory, from Eleven to One of the Clock in one place at the Exchange, and another day (the same space of time) in Smithfield; and you shall

shall have a Paper set for you your Harts, declaring your Offences
For Printing, Publishing, Scandalous, Treasonable, and
Fadious Books against the King and State.

You shall be committed till the next Gaol-Delivery, without
Bail, and then you shall make an Open Confession, and Acknow-
ledgement of your Offences, in such words as shall be Directed you;
and afterwards;

You shall remain Prisoners during the Kings Pleasure; and
when you are Discharged, you shall put in good Security, by Re-
cognizance, your selves 400l. a peece, and two Securities, each
of you, of 200l. a peece, not to Print or Publish any Books, but
such as shall be allowed of: And this is the Judgement of the
Court.



IN the Interval, betwixt the Condemnation and Execution
of John Twyn, diverse Applications were made to him;
in order both to his Temporal and Eternal Good; and in
particular, Mr. Weldon, the Ordinary of Newgate, spent much
time and pains upon him, to convince him of that horrid
Crime, for which he was to Suffer; Particularly pressing
him to a Confession both of his Offence, and of the Author of
that Treasonable Piece, for which he was to Die. His
Answer was, That it was not his Principle to betray the Au-
thor; but it belonged to others: Whereupon Mr. Ordinary
demanded of him, What it was, that could prevail with
him, to undertake the Printing of it? He said, He was a
Poor man, that he had Received 40s. and the Promise of a
larger Summe, whereupon he undertooke it; but who it was
that made him that Promise, he would discover.

Mr. Ordinary did likewise further urge him to a Con-
fession of the Author, upon a Confidence, that such a Disco-
very might save his Life. To which he Replied, that he

L

neither

neither could do it, nor did believe himself obliged to, if he could; for better (says he) *one* suffer, then many; being pressed to receive the blessed Sacrament, he return'd, that he was not free to do it; He was against receiving according to the Forms of this Church; and he hoped, he might do well enough without it; and in this temper he continued till he came to the Place of Execution; Where going up the Ladder, Mr. Sheriff told him, that if he had any thing to say, he should remember the cautions he had given him.

Twyn. I suppose this appearance of people doth expect that I should say something as to the matter I come here for. It is true, I come here Condemn'd as a *Traitor*, for printing a book, taken to be, and owned to be, and judged to be, *Scandalous and Seditious*.

Sir R. Ford. And *Treasonable*, put that in too.

Twyn. For my own part, I can say this, I knew it not to be so, till I came to the Bar to be Tryed; I was surprized in the doing of it, both in the beginning, and at last, I was clear and free in my own thoughts as to intend any Sedition.

Sir R. Ford. I would not willingly interrupt a dying man; I told you before that you must not declare any thing in justification, or mitigation, of so foul a Crime; but if you had any thing to say that was for the disburthening of your own Conscience, or to give any good Admonitions to the people to beware of falling into the like Crime, you should be patiently heard: but I wonder you should go about to justify your self in this, when you did confess both to my brother here, and my self, after Sentence, that That which was passed upon you, was just, and deserved.

Twyn. I do not say otherwise of it, but that it was just; but as to my ignorance of the matter of intending or imagining to soment and contrive any such thing tending to such ends, but barely for getting a little money for my Family; I was as clear as the Child unborn of any other design knowingly, of any such thing, I do look upon it as a Surprizal;

prize; First, I was Surprized in this matter, by reason of that dangerous sickness, and weakness I was in when it was brought; I received it with my own hands, but it was wrapt up in wall paper, and so I delivered it to my servant, he went on with it; and two or three dayes after, it was taken from me by those that came to search my house, who themselves told me they came upon information; so that it was a matter I was surprized with when it was brought in, by reason of my sickness and weakness, being unable to overlook it: And likewise as soon as it was brought in, the third day I was discovered in it, by some way of information; and whether those that were the senders of it in, might not be the discoverers, I know not; some discovery was made by by the confession of those that searched my house; they came by information, not by chance: then when they had taken me, I did ingeniously acknowledge and confess who I had it of; and yet for all this, the searching after those persons concern'd was neglected that whole day; they were at home, and easie to be taken, I could prove it.

Sir R. Ford. Mr. Twyn, give me leave to tell you once more, that I am heartily sorry you have given me the occasion to interrupt you a second time; All these things you pleaded at the Bar, and said as much as you could; the Wisdom and Justice of the Bench did not think this to be a sufficient excuse of that Treason you are found guilty of it; I would ask to what end this discourse tends; tell me your end?

Twyn. My end is this, and it please your Worship, to shew how ignorant and unacquainted I was with the nature of the thing; and how far I was in my Conscience, from intending that Treason.

Sir R. Ford. You say you were surprized, and that you knew not the Treason; Was it not clearly and plainly (by your own servant) proved that you composed some part of it, and printed it your self, and corrected it; You understood *English*, or else you could not Correct it; if you understood *English*, or sense, you could not be ignorant that it was

a Horrid piece of Treason, such as no honest man ought to see and conceal one half hour. Therefore do not justify yourself; it is forget not to any purpose here; with the world to come; if you are not guilty of the matter, you have the more easie access to obtaine hereafter; but that will not help you here on earth; pray spend that little time you have to some better purpose then this; if you have any thing to say that may become a modest man to say, we are willing to hear it; if you otherwise were concerned in it, say it. Twyn. No person assisted me, I Corrocted it not; it was carried out of my house to Corroct, and brought in Corrocted.

Sir R. Ford. You shall not say that you are denied that Christian Liberty, a dying man ought to have; We are not to suffer any reflections on this business; You have a fair tryal; I say we would not deprive you your Liberty of speaking, but do not abuse that Liberty that is given you, by spending your time impertinently, and fruitlessly, but if you have any thing further to offer to God, which is more for your good, go to that.

Twyn. I shall forbear to insist any further as to the Narration of that matter, I shall be very unwilling and tender of reflecting any thing upon the King, or the Government, or give offence to your Worships, any way.

Sir R. Ford. Nothing but that shall offend us.

Twyn. I shall go to prayer.

Sir R. Ford. Do, do, we will joyn with you, and pray for you.

He continued in private Prayer on the Ladder some time.

Sir R. Ford. Executioner, do not turn him off, till he has given you a signe to go.

Mr. Ordinary of Newgate. Mr. Twyn, give a signe to the Executioner; when you have done; You must not throw yourself off, you will be your own Executioner in that.

sd Twyn Executioner, when I give you the sign, by passing
you by the Shooe, then turn me offsd that executioner
Executioner. I will, I will, the Lord blest thy poar Coua

Afterwards the Executioner coming down, Mr. Twyn told
him the Signe should be by Moving his Foot.

Twyn. O Lord hear the Prayer of thy poor Servant, receive
me into thy Mercy: Lord in thee I believe, receive my Spirit;
Lord Jesus, be my Prayer be acceptable in thy Sight, O Lord
my strength, and my Redeemer. O Lord I beseech thee, receive
me into the Armes of thy mercy, let me have an inheritance
with thee, to live with thee for ever, and then come Lord Jesus
come quickly.

Then giving the Signe, the Executioner did his Office,
and being cut Down, his Head was severed from his Body,
and his body Divided into four Quarters, which are to be
Disposed of as the King shall Assigne: Since which time, his
Head is placed over Ludgate, and his Quarters upon Alder-
gate, and other Gates of the City.

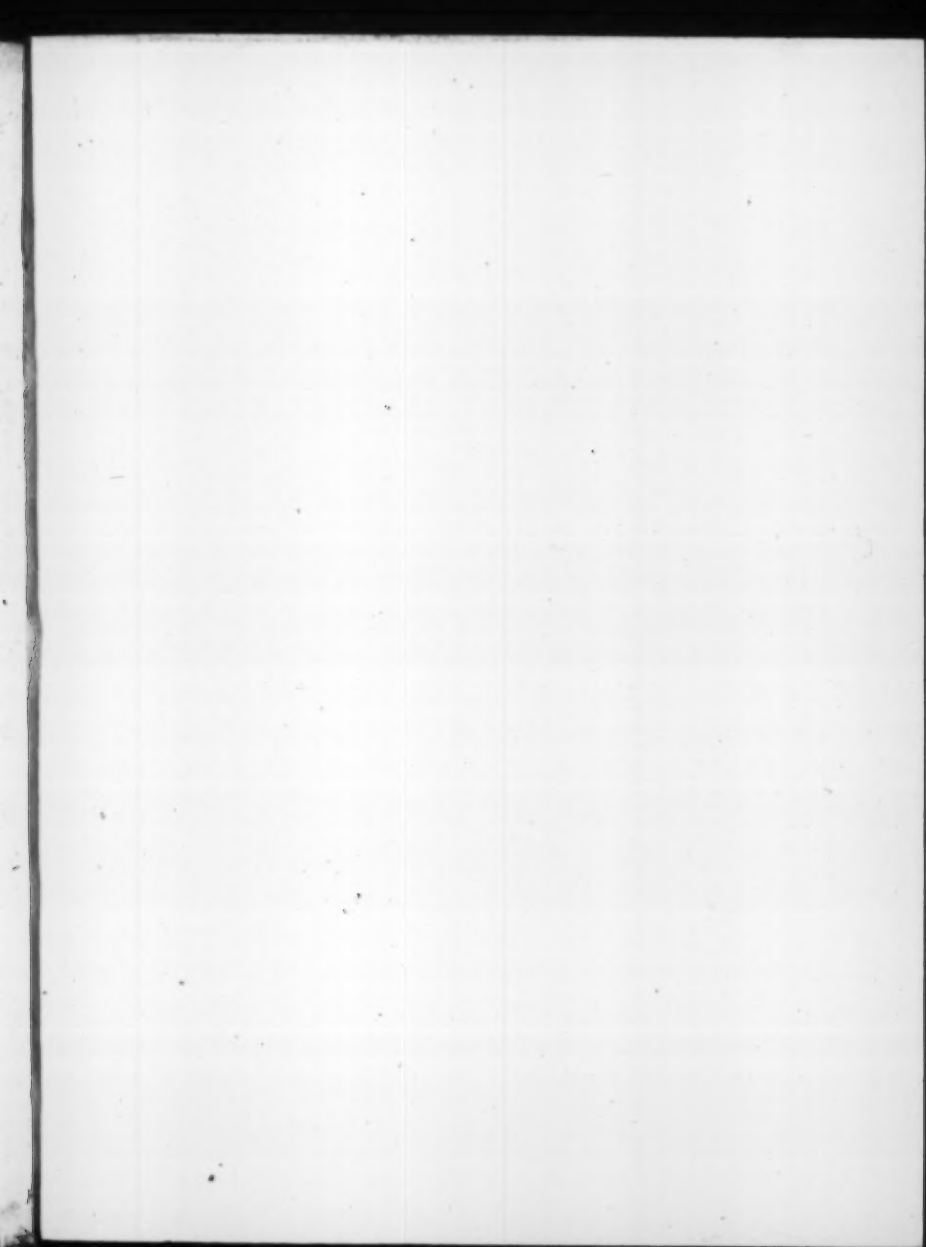
It will be here Convenient, to make Two
Observations upon the Words of
the Prisoner.

First, He says, That the Proofs were sent out
of his House to be Corrected, and brought
back again Corrected, and so not Correct-
ed by himself: Which is not onely contrary to
what he formerly Owned, as was made out by se-
veral Proofs at his Tryal, concerning his own Cor-
recting

resting of it; but to his solemn Declaration at the Bar, avowing that he knew nothing more of the Business than what he There delivered: For, supposing such a Confession, the next Question would Infallibly have been, To whom was it carried? Or, Who Corrected it? as the readiest way to the Discovery of the Author.

Secondly, He says, That the Persons concerned, (meaning Calvert, and her Maid) were neglected that whole day, being at Home, and easie to be taken, which is Disproved, both by his own Servant, and Mrs. Calvert's: And likewise proved on the other side, That if he himself would have ordered his Apprentice to have looked after the Maid, (as he Promised, and was Directed) she had been Secured that very morning: The Fellow meeting her in St. Bartholomews-Close, within a quarter of an hour after his Master was carried away; not knowing that she had any concern in the Business. As to the Mistress her self, she is at Present under Custody.

FINIS.



I Appoint *Thomas Newcomb*, and
Henry Hills, to Print this Examination,
Narrative and Letter ; Perused and
Signed by me, According to the Order
of the HOUSE OF COMMONS;
And that no other Person presume to
Print them.

W^{ILLIAM} W^{ILLIAMS}, *Speaker*.

THE
EXAMINATION
OF

Captain *William Bedlow* Deceased,
Relating to

The Popish Plot,

Taken in his last Sickness, by

Sir *FRANCIS NORTH*,

Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas.

Together with the Narrative of Sir *Francis North*, at the
Council Board: And the Letter of Sir *Francis North*, to Mr. Secretary
JENKINS, Relating to this EXAMINATION.

Perused and Signed to be Printed, Accord-
ing to the Order of the House of Commons,

BY ME

William Williams, Speaker.



L O N D O N,

Printed by the Assigns of *John Bill*, *Thomas Newcomb*,
and *Henry Hills*, Printers to the Kings most
Excellent Majesty, 1680.

THE EXAMINATION

Of
Captain William Bedlow Deceased,
Relating to

The Popish Plot

Taken in his last sickness by

Sir FRANCIS NORTH,

Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas.

Together with the Examination of Sir Francis North, at the
Council Board: And the Letter of Sir Francis North to Mr. Secretary
Jennings, Relative to the EXAMINATION.

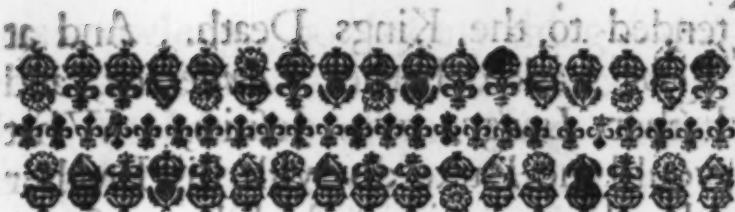
Perused and signed to be Printed, Accord-
ing to the Order of the House of Commons.

BY ME

William Williams, Speaker.



LONDON,
Printed by the Author of John Bull, Thomas Newcomb,
and Henry Hills, Printers to the Kings most
Excellent Majesty, 1686.



THE
EXAMINATION

OF
Capt. WILLIAM BEDLOW,

Taken upon Oath before the
Lord Chief Justice NORTH,

AT
BRISTOL,

On Monday the 16th of August. 1680.

He Examinant saith, That
the Duke of York hath
bin so far engaged in the
Plot, as he hath seen by
Letters in Cardinal Bar-
barini's Secretaries Study;
that no part that hath bin proved against
any man already, that hath suffered,
but that to the full those Letters have
made him guilty of it; all but what
B tended

Alfred Bull April 26, 1910 7/6

tended to the Kings Death. And at Rome I asked Father *Auderton*, and Father *Lodge*, two Jesuits, What would the Duke do with his Brother when he was King? And they answered me, They would find a means for that: they would give him no trouble about it. Then I told them, I believed the Duke loved his Brother so well, he would suffer no Violence to be done to Him. They said, No: If the Duke could be brought to that, as he had bin Religiously to every thing else, they might do their work: their other business was ready; and they might do it presently. But they knew they could not bring him to that Point: but they would take care for that themselves. They had not begun with him, to leave him in such scruples as that. But they would set him into his Throne; and there he should Reign blindfold three or four days: for they had settled some they should pitch the Action upon, should clear their Party. And then he should flie upon them with the Sword of Revenge.

And this Examinant doth further add,
That the Queen is not, to this Exami-
nants

(7)

nants knowledge, nor by any thing that he could ever find out, any way concerned in the Murder of the King: but barely by Her Letters consenting and promising to Contribute what Money she could to the Introducing the Catholick Religion. Nay, 'twas a great while; and it made Her weep, before she could be brought to that.

William Bedlow.

Jurat. 16. die Aug. 1680.

Coram me,

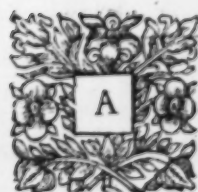
Fra. North.

THE

THE
NARRATIVE

OF
Sir FRANCIS NORTH
Lord Chief Justice

OF THE
COMMONPLEAS,
At the COUNCIL BOARD.



At my first coming to Mr. Rumfey's house, where I was to Lodge at *Bristol*, upon *Munday* the 16th day of *August* in the Afternoon, being the First day of the Assises, Sir *John Knight* came to me, and said, That Mr. *Bedlow* lay dangerously ill of a Feaver, and had little hopes of Life; and desired that I would give him a Visit, that he might Impart something of great Consequence to me before his Death. I told him,

him I would give him a Visit that night after Supper, about Nine a Clock, if I might be satisfied of two things: First, That there was no Infection in his Distemper: Secondly, That the time would not be inconvenient, but he might Discourse to me without prejudice to his Condition. After a little while, two Physicians came to me, and assured me, that there was no danger of Infection, and that the time I had appointed would be most proper; for commonly he took his repose in the Afternoon, and at Nine a Clock he would in all probability be refreshed, and fit to Discourse with me. Thereupon I declared my Resolution of going, and desired the Company of the Two Sheriffs, and my brother Roger North, and appointed my Marshal William Fanes to go with me. As we were upon the way, Mr. Crossman, a Minister in that City, told me Mr. Bedlow had desired him to come with me to him: I said, It was very well, and I should be glad of his Company. Whereupon we went all together; and being come into the Room where Mr. Bedlow lay, I saluted him, and said, I was extreme sorry to find him so ill. I

came to Visit him upon his own desires. I did imagine he had something to impart to me as a Privy-Councillor ; and therefore if he thought fit, the Company might withdraw. He told me, That needed not yet, for he had much to say, which was proper for the Company to hear : And having saluted the Sheriffs, and Mr. *Crossman*, he discoursed to this purpose.

That he looked upon himself as a dying man, and found within himself that he could not last long, but must shortly appear before the Lord of Hosts, to give an account of all his Actions. And because many Persons had made it their business to baffle and deride the Plot, he did, for the satisfaction of the World, there declare upon the Faith of a dying Man, and as he hoped for Salvation, That whatever he had Testified concerning the Plot, was True. And that he had wronged no Man by his Testimony, but had Testified rather under than over what was Truth. That he had nothing lay upon his Conscience upon that Account. That he should appear cheerfully before the Lord of Hosts : which he did verily believe he must

must do in a short time. He said, He had many Witnesses to produce, who would make the Plot as clear as the Sun; and he had other things to Discover, which were of great Importance to the King, and the Countrey. Hereupon he making some pause, I told him, The Plot was so evidently made out, that no reasonable man, no Protestant, I was sure, could doubt of the Truth of it: But he ought not to have Concealed any thing that concerned the King so highly. He ought to Discover his whole knowledge in matters of Treason, that Traitors may be Apprehended and Secured; who otherwise may have opportunity to Execute their Treasonable Designs. To this he replied, That much of that which he had not Discovered was to Corroborate his former Testimony: That he had Concealed nothing that was absolutely necessary to the Kings Preservation. That he thought it not fit to Accuse more Persons, till he had ended with those whom he had already Accused. He expressed great grief and trouble at the Condition of his poor King and Countrey (so he termed them) whom he knew at that time to be

be in Eminent danger from the Jesuits, who had Resolved the Kings Death; and he was sure they would spare him no longer then he continued to be kind to them. He said, He was privy to their Consultations at *Salamanca* and *Valladolid*, where they used to observe the favourable Conjunction they had to Introduce their Religion into *England*: which consisted in their having a Head, who must be set up whatever came of it: and, If they let slip that opportunity, they should never have such another: For without a Head they could do nothing. He said further, He knew the Wickedness and Resolution of the Jesuits: they stuck at nothing to compass their own ends. They had attempted to Poison him, but he had escaped.

When he had finished this Discourse, (which lasted about a quarter of an hour) I asked him, If the Company should now withdraw? And he said, Yes: and Ordered his Nurses to go out, and only his Wife, to stay to tend him. And thereupon all went out, saving Mrs. *Bedlow*, my self, and my servant *William Janes*. Then I told him, I thought it convenient that what he should then say

say unto me, I should be upon Oath. He replied, That it was I necessary it should be so: and I called for a Bible. But my Servant having brought a Book with him, Administred the Oath to him; and laying his Paper upon a Chair by the Bedside, writ down his Deposition as he delivered it. When Mr. *Bedlow* had concluded, and said, That was all he had to Inform one of, I took the Paper, and Read it over distinctly to him, and he approved it, and Signed it, laying the Paper upon a Pillow.

I thought it not fit, considering his Condition, to perplex him with Questions, but took his Information as he offered it, and held no Discourse with him when the Company was withdrawn, but concerning the true setting down his Depositions: and when he seemed to be weary, to mind him of taking Cordials, which his Wife reached to him as he desired them.

The next day Mr *Bedlows* Brother came to me, and told me that his Brother desired a Copy of the Deposition he made before me. But I told him, I had well considered it, and could not
D give

give him a Copy without the Kings leave. But I would move the King in it: and if He gave leave, I would take care to send one to him. And Mr Bedlows Brother then told me, That it was his Brothers desire that I should represent to His Majesty his Condition; and that his Sicknes was very Chargeable: and move His Majesty on his behalf for some Supply of money for his Subsistence; which I promised to do.

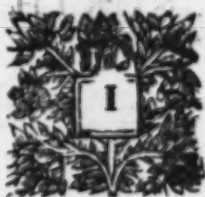
This is all that I can recollect of what passed upon this Occasion, and is in Substance true: but the very Words, or the Order, I cannot positively remember.

FRA. NORTH.

To

To the Right Honourable
Sir LYONELL JENKINS,
 One of His Majesties Principal
 SECRETARIES of STATE.

Sir,



Always intended to Write from hence, to pay my thanks for the whole Circuit, which was much more pleasant, by your favour of holding Correspondence with me. But now I have business of some Importance :

For as soon as I came to this City, I received a Message from Mr. Bedlow, by Sir John Knight, That he being very ill, and in the judgment of Physicians in great danger of Death, had some business of great moment to impart to me. I knowing the Man, and the season, would not refuse the pains to give him a Visit : and being satisfied by Physicians that there was no Contagious quality in his Distemper, (though I did not much fear it) I went well accompanied ; and in the presence of the Company he Declared, That whatever he had said relating to the Plot, was True. And he being a dying Man, had nothing lay upon his Conscience upon that score. The greatest trouble he had, was the danger the KING (whom he loved above all things) was in from the Papists at this time : who would attempt His Life as soon as ever he should cease to be kind to them : and many other Expressions of this kind. After this I asked if he had any thing to impart to me in private. He told me, He had. And having made the Company withdraw, all but my Clerk, I
 took

took the inclosed Examination upon Oath; you may imagine
I was not curious to perplex him with Questions. I took it
just as he delivered it. Of what signification it will be, I
leave to wiser Men. I think my duty is to send it to you, that
you may Inform His Majesty of the Truth. I shall wait up-
on you at Windsor upon Sunday next to receive your fur-
ther Commands.

One of His Majesty's Council

Yours most humble and

faithful Servant,

ERA. NORTH

Ten at Night. The Copy inclosed
is hastily and ill Taken. I shall
bring the Original with me.

received a Message from Mr. Bedlow, the Son of John Bedlow,
that he being very ill, and in the danger of his life, desired
great kindness of Dear Sir, and that he would be so good
not refuse the pains to give him a Visit: and being informed
that I was at home, I went to his house, and found him
in bed, (though I did not know him) I went in and accom-
panied; and in the presence of his Country he declared
that whatever he had said relating to the Plot, was True.
And he being a young Man, had nothing lay upon his conscience
upon that score. I being much to wonder he had, was the day
after the 11th (when he stood above all things) was in
from the Parliament time: who would attempt this Life
as soon as ever he should come to be kind to them: and many
other Expressions of this kind. After this I asked if he
had any more to say to me in private. He told me, He had.
And having made the Company with me, I asked Clerk, I

Free
An Excellent New Song

25
183

ON
LEWIS le Grand,
OR, THE
French King and the Devil.

Tune of, *The Orange.*

Printed according to Order.

I.
A Song I will sing
Of a barbarous King
Who in *France* for many Years Ruler has been;
Look all the World o're,
Nay, *Rome* and its Whore,
Did never bring forth such a Monster before
This damn'd Monsieur.

II.
For the Protestant Crew,
He's resolv'd to undo,
As daily we find by experience too true;
He hangs up the one,
And a second's undone,
A third he is fain to pack up and be gone
From damn'd Monsieur.

III.
In this his curs'd evil,
He thinks himself civil,
And mightily pleas'd in serving the Devil;
By all that is good,
His delight is in blood,
And chiefly to root out the Heretick brood
From damn'd Monsieur.

IV.
His Neighbouring Allies,
With Wars he supplies,
Not minding poor Children or Widows out-cries,
He sends Sword and Fire,
To make them retire,
Or else they must fall to the lustful desire
Of damn'd Monsieur.

V.
All these and much more,
This Son of a Whore,
Has laid to his Charge, and does lye at his door,
For which he was try'd
And Condemned beside,
To be flung in the Fire, and there to be fry'd
This damn'd Monsieur.

VI.
Now *Lewis le Grand*,
In Effigie is hang'd,
We hope 'twont be long e're his person do gar
To the Devil, whose due
Twas to have long ago,
So take in possession without more do
This damn'd Monsieur.

VII.
Then *Cerberus* of Hell,
Come take to thy Cell,
The remains of a Carcass while any part's well,
For the Pox in his Groin
And Fistula in time,
Will wholly deceive you of what you design
From damn'd Monsieur.

Devil to Lewis.
I am sent ye to tell
You are wanted in Hell;
Since you your great Master has served so well,
Then come Thee along
To the fiery hot Thong,
Where your Ancestors do most impatiently long
For damn'd Monsieur.
Lewis to the Devil.

Pray Devil forbear,
For I'm not fit ware
To come to the paws of your Worship I swear;
But give me some time,
Purgatory to climb,
There for to Flux, then I am in good time
Your damn'd Monsieur.

Devil to Lewis.
Ay, begar *Monsieur*,
You need not to fear
Of Fluxing enough when in Hell you appear,
For your Body is foul,
And worse is your Soul,
Therefore to the De'il the Pox Body must roul
Of damn'd Monsieur.

L O N D O N, Printed by T. M.



116 d 34.

(1)

LITERÆ ILLUSTR:
DOMINI FAGEL,

HOLLANDIÆ PENSIONARIJ,

AD DOMINUM

JACOBUM STEUART Advocatū,

Hoc eodem, quo jam prodeunt,
idiomate exarata.

In quibus quæ sit Serenissimorum
Principum Auriacorum de Testæ
Legumque pœnalium contra
Pontificios in BRITAN-
NIA litarum abolitione
sententia, declaratur.

Vir Nobilissime & Amplissime,

Doleo vehementer valetudinem
quæ usus sum minus prospera,
causam fuisse me non potuisse citius
respondere epistolis, quibus petis &
efflagitas, ut certiore te facere ve-
lim, quid Serenissimi Principes sen-
tiant de Legibus Pœnalibus & nomi-
natum de eâ quæ vulgò *Testa* appel-
latur abolendis. Persuassimum ha-
beas rogo, me hac in re apertissime
& absque omni omnino circutione
rectam auctorum, maxime cum scri-
bis, literas quas misisti *scientie &*
approbante Rege exaratas esse. Affir-
mare & significare igitur tibi debeo
Serenissimos Principes sæpius decla-
rasse

A LETTER,

Writ by Mijn Heer FAGEL,

PENSIONER of HOLLAND,

TO

Mr. JAMES STEUART, Advocate;
Giving an Account of the

PRINCE and PRINCESS

OF ORANGE's

Thoughts concerning the Repeal
of the TEST, and the PENAL

L A W S.



S I R.

I Am extrem sorry, that my ill
health hath so long hindered
me from Answering those Let-
ters, in which you so earnestly de-
sired to know of me, what Their
Highnesses thoughts are, concerning
the Repeal of the *Penal Laws*, and
more particularly of that concerning
the *Test*: I beg you to assure your
self, that I will deal very plainly
with you in this matter, and wit-
hout Reserve, since you say that
your *Letters* were writ by the King's
knowledg and allowance. I must
then first of all assure you very posi-
tively, that Their *Highnesses* have oft-
en declared, as They did it more par-
ticularly to the Marquis of Alberville,

A

His

4 Nov. 1687

rasse & quidem ipsi Domino Marchioni d' Abbiville Ablegato Majestatis sua ad Fœderati Belgii Ordines Extraordinario, & etiam nunc in ea esse sententiâ;

Neminem Christianorum persequendum aut molestiis afficiendum ob id tantum, quod à publica aut prædominante, uti loqui amant, religione dissentiat, & omnino pati posse quod Pontificiis in Anglia Scotia, Hybernia permittatur profiteri religionem suam ea cum libertate, eoque modo, quibus in illa harum provinciarum fruuntur, in quâ quam maximâ gaudent indulgentiâ.

Serenissimos præterea Principes non tantum non adversari, sed quam maximè probare, Eis, quos Dissidentibus nominant, concedi omnimodam libertatem & facultatem religionem suam exercendi absque ullis omnino impedimentis aut obstaculis, ita ut nemo eis eam ob causam molestus, gravis, iniquus aut incommodus esse debeat aut possit.

Adhæc Serenissimos Principes, si id majestati suæ placeat, quam libentissimè acturos & annifuros sedulò, ut ejusmodi libertas stabiliatur & inconcussa reddatur, imo sponsuros talem se libertatem defensuros, protecturos, & Guarantiâ (uti loquimur) suâ confirmaturos, de qua tu in literis tuis locutus es: Quin & si Majestas sua

His Majesties Envoy Extraordinary to the States, that it is Their Opinion, that no Christian ought to be persecuted for his Conscience, or be ill used because he differs from the publick and established Religion; And therefore, They can consent, that the Papists in Engeland Scotland and Ireland be suffered to continue in their Religion, with as much Liberty as is allowed them by the States in these Provinces; in which it cannot be denied, that they enjoy a full Liberty of Conscience. And as for the Dissenters, Their Highnesses do not only consent, but do heartily approve of their having an entire Liberty, for the full exercise of their Religion, without any trouble or hindrance; so that none may be able to give them the least disturbance upon that account.

And Their Highnesses are very ready, in case His Majesty shall think fit to desire it, to declare their willingness to concur in the settling, and confirming this Liberty, and as far as it lies in them, they will protect and defend it, and according to the Language of Treaties, They will confirm it with their Guaranty, of which you made mention in yours.

And if His Majesty shall think fit further to desire Their concurrence in the Repealing of the Penal Laws, They are ready to give it; provided always that those Laws remain still in their

sua id desiderat, omnem operam adhibuit, ut Leges Pœnales abrogentur, ita tamen, ut ea Legum Capita, quæ Pontificiis ad Parlamenta aliaque munera & Officia publica, Ecclesiastica, Civium, publici Regiminis, Justitiæ, aut Militiæ spectantia aditum negant, facta tecta maneant, ut & ea capita quæ in Securitatem & Tranquillitatem Religionis Reformatæ, & ne quid in eam Pontificii moliantur, sancitasunt.

Serenissimos autem Principes cum Majestate suâ non convenire neque assensum suum præbere posse ut Testa quæ dicitur, aut modo laudata Legum pœnaliū capita abrogentur, quibus nihil aliud agitur quam ne Pontificii aut ad Parlamenta aut ad prædicta munera aut officia publica vocentur, aut ut sua Religioni Reformatæ securitas conslet, & ne quid ad tranquillitatem ejus turbendam Pontificii moliantur; quoniam ita dicta Testa & ea Legum pœnaliū pars nullam Pontificiis aut pœnam aut mulctam imponunt, sed aliud nihil statuunt quam ut ad Parlamenta & prædicta munera & officia publica ii tantum habiles reddantur qui Deo & hominibus coram declarare & testari possunt & volunt se esse Reformatæ & non Pontificiæ Religionis; Et ut sedulo provideatur ne Religio Reformatæ à Pontificiis quicquam detri-

their full vigour, by which the R. Catholicks are shut out of both Houses of Parliament, and out of all publick Employments, Ecclesiastical, Civil and Military: as likewise all those other Laws, which confirm the Protestant Religion, and which secures it against all the attempts of the Roman Catholicks.

But Their Highnesses cannot agree to the Repeal of the Test: or of those other penal Laws last mentioned, that tend to the security of the Protestant Religion; since the R. Catholicks receive no other prejudice from these then the being excluded from Parliaments, or from publick Employments: And that by them the Protestant Religion is covered from all the Designs of the R. Catholicks against it, or against the publick safety; And neither the Test nor these other Laws can be said to carry in them any severity against the Roman Catholicks upon account of their Consciences: They are only Provisions qualifying men to be Members of Parliament, or to be capable of bearing Office; by which they must Declare before God and men, that they are for the Protestant Religion. So that indeed, all this amounts to no more than a securing the Protestant Religion from any Prejudices that it may receive from the R. Catholicks.

Their Highnesses have thought and do still think, that more than this

trimenti capiat, *Serenissimos Principes* censuisse & adhuc censere plura aut ampliora ab iis iurè exigi aut expectari non posse: Pontificiis & eorum posteris hac via in perpetuum consuli, securis ne qua deinceps molestia personis, bonis, aut etiam exercitio religionis eorum inferatur, contentos itaque eos esse, nec tranquillitatem regni turbare debere, quia non etiam ad *Parliamenta* & alia munera publica vocantur, & quod non simul abrogetur id omne quod iis in Legibus tantum securitatem Religionis Reformatz spectat, & impedimento est, ne quid Pontificii in ea turbatum eant.

Satisfieri etiam desideriis eorum quos *Dissentientes* nominant, cum in perpetuum eximantur omni metu & suspicione, ne in libero Religionis eorum exercitio unquam aliquid molestiæ, incommodi aut obstaculi creati, evenire aut obrepere possit.

Mihi igitur videtur ex hac declaratione *Serenissimorum Principum* manifestum fieri eos nihil minus animo agitare, quàm impedire ut *Dissentientes* quos nominant à dictis Legibus poenalibus liberentur, cum parati sint omni opera niti ut hæc ita constituentur & firmentur, nec etiam ullo modo id agere, ut Pontificiis negetur exercitium Religionis eorum,

mo-

ought not to be askt, or expected from Them: since by this means, the *Roman Catholicks* and their Posterity will be forever secured from all trouble in their Persons or Estates, or in the Exercise of their Religion; and that the *Roman Catholicks* ought to be satisfied with this, and not to disquiet the Kingdom because they cannot be admitted to sit in Parliament, or to be in Employments; or because those *Laws*, in which the Security of the *Protestant Religion* does chiefly consist, are not repealed, by which they may be put in a condition to overturn it.

Their *Highnesses* do also believe, that the *Dissenters* will be fully satisfied when they shall be forever covered from all danger of being disturbed, or punished for the free Exercise of their Religion, upon any sort of pretence what soever.

Their *Highnesses* having declared themselves so positive in these matters, it seems very plain to me, that They are far from bring any hindrance to the Freeing *Dissenters* from the Severity of the *Penal Laws*; since They are ready to use their utmost endeavours for the establishing of it: nor do They at all press the denying to the *R. Catholicks* the exercise of their Religion, provided it be managed modestly, & with out Pomp or Ostentation. As for my own part, I ever was and still am

very

modo illud *modeste*, & absque ulla *publica ostentatione* peragatur.

Me quidem quod attinet, sum & fui semper alienissimus ab iis qui Christianum persequendum censuerint ob eam solum causam, quod à publica & prædominante, uti ajunt, religione dissentiat, & spero favente Deo eandem mihi in perpetuum fore sententiam. Nam cum lumen quod in cordibus nostris Religio accendit, adscribendum plane sit, ut mihi quidem videtur, misericordiæ divinæ; nostrarum partium esse arbitrator Deo eo nomine gratias agere quam maximas, miseri fortis eorum, qui etiam nunc errant, quemadmodum Deus nostri misertus est, & ab eo ardentissimis precibus petere, ut errantes in viam reducere vellet, nobis satagentibus, ut eam iis placide & amice monstrare possimus. Lubens tamen fateor me nunquam capere potuisse, cuiquam qui exercitio religionis suæ quiete & sine ulla molestia frui potest, & qui se Christianum profitetur, fas esse statum cujusunque Regni aut Reipublicæ turbare aut immutare velle, ut ad munera & honores publicos eveharur, aut ne Religioni publicæ & prædominanti, ut ajunt, inconcussa manear sua vel securitas vel tranquillitas.

Video autem *Religionem Reformatam*

very much against all those, who would persecute any *Christian* because he differs from the publick and established *Religion*: And I hope by the Grace of God to continue still in the same mind; for since that Light, with which *Religion* illuminates our minds, is according to my sense of things, purely an effect of the Mercy of God to us, we ought then, as I think, to render to God all possible Thanks for his Goodness to us: and to have Pity for those who are still shut up in Error, even as God has pitied us, and to put up most earnest prayers to God, for bringing those into the way of Truth, who stray from it, and to use all gentle and friendly methods for reducing them to it.

But I confess, I could never comprehend how any that profess themselves *Christianus*, and that may enjoy their *Religion* freely and without any disturbance, can judge it lawful for them to go about to disturb the Quiet of any *Kingdom* or *State*, or to overturn Constitutions, that so they themselves may be admitted to Employments, and that those *Laws* in which the Security and Quiet of the established *Religion* consists, should be shaken.

It is plain, that the *Reformed Religion* is by the Grace of God and by the *Laws* of the Land, enacted by both *King* and *Parliament*, the public

matam Dei Gratia tam in Anglia, Scotia, quam Hybernia esse publicam, & ut ajunt prædominantem, video leges ibi latas & sancitas à Rege & Parlamento, id est, omni populo, quæ ad munia Parliamentaria, munera & officia Publica eos tantum vocant, qui sunt & publicè profitentur & testantur se esse Religionis Reformatæ, & non Pontificiæ, & quæ cavent conservationi Religionis Reformatæ, & ne quid in eam Pontificii moliantur, non quod ea Leges severius quid statuunt in Bona au Personis eorum, qui nolunt profiteri aut testari se non esse Pontificios, sed quæ salvis eorum religione, persona, bonis, eos tantum non recipiunt ad regendam Rempublicam aut alia munera & honores publicos, quamdiu ex animo se esse Reformatæ & non Pontificiæ Religionis, profiteri & testari nequeunt, & quæ prohibent, ne quæ Reformatos molestiâ afficiant, Serenissimis Principibus, uti dixi, paratis in id cum Majestate sua eniti, ut ea Legum poenalium capita abrogentur, quæ alias pœnas vel multas inducunt.

Constat igitur nullam circa abolitionem Legum poenalium superesse differentiam, nisi quod nonnulli Pontificios ad capeßenda munia, officia & honores publicos recipere, & quicquid de iis Legibus in securitatem & tranquillitatem Reformatæ

Religionis both in England, Scotland and Ireland; and that it is provided by those Laws, that none can be admitted either to a plac in Parliament, or to any publick Employment, except those that do openly declare, that they are of the Protestant Religion, and not Roman Catholicks; and it is also provided by those Laws, that the Protestant Religion shall be in all time coming secured from the Designs of the Roman Catholicks against it: in all which I do not see, that these Laws contain any Severity, either against the Persons or Estates of those who cannot take those Tests, that are contrary to the Roman Catholick Religion; all the inconveniences that can redound to them from thence, is, that their Persons, their Estates, and even the Exercise of their Religion being assured to them, only they can have no share in the Governement, nor in Offices of Trust, as long as their Consciences do not allow them to take these Tests: and they are not suffered to do any thing that is to the prejudice of the Reformed Religion.

Since, as I have already told you, Their Highnesses are ready to concur with his Majesty for the Repeal of those Penal Laws, by which men are made liable to fines or other Punishments,

So

Religionis, & ne quid in eam moliri possit, cautum est, abrogatum velint, aliis contra tendentibus, ut ea legum pœnatum capita firma & sacra, & hæc Religionis publicæ & prædominantis, ut ajunt, id est Reformatæ prærogativa immota maneat.

Extra omnem dubitandi aleam est nullibi dari Regnum, Rempubicam, quinimo corpus aut collegium licitum, in quo non reperiuntur leges quæ inserviunt ejus securitati & obviæ eunt illicitis aliorum conatibus, & simul præscribunt quibus dotibus ornati, cujus conditionis esse debeant, qui ad obeunda munia & officia in Regnis, Rebuspublicis aut Collegiis istis admittentur, neque injuriam ullam fieri iis quorum nomina ex hac regula non recipiuntur.

Negari etiam non potest inter Reformatam & Pontificiam Religionem quam maximum esse discrimen; Pontificios enim non modo excludere Reformatos ab omnibus muneribus & officiis publicis, verumetiam iis interdicare omne Religionis suæ exercitium, imo eos quam acerrimè persequi omnibus in regionibus & locis, ubi & quamprimum id tuto & absquè periculo fieri possit credunt; atque utinam hoc ipso, quo vivimus, tempore tam tristia, tam deploranda, tam multis in locis hac

de

So I see there Remains no difficulty concerning the Repealing the *Penal Laws*, but only this, that some would have the *Roman Catholicks* render'd capable of all publick Trusts and Employments, and that by consequence, all those should be repealed that have secured the *Protestant Religion* against the designs of the *Roman Catholicks*, where others at the same time are not less earnest to have those *Laws* maintained in their full and due vigour; and think, that the chief Security of the established *Religion* consists in the preserving of them Sacred and unshaken.

It is certain, that there is no Kingdom, *Common-wealib*, or any constituted Body or Assembly what soever, in which there are not *Laws* made for the Safety thereof: and that provide against all Attempts whatsoever, that disturb their peace, and that prescribe the Conditions and Qualities that they judg necessary for all that shall bear Employments in that Kingdom, State or Corporation: and no man can pretend, that there is any Injury done him, that he is not admittid to Employments when he doth not satisfie the Conditions and Qualities required.

Nor can it be denied, that there is a great difference to be observed in

in

de re exempla oculis nostris non obverfarentur.

Vellem itaque vel unicam mihi dari rationem ; qua Reformatus Deum timens & de Religione fua follicitus moveri poffit ad diffolvendas leges cum confenfu Regum & Parliamentorum conditas , quatenus ex Leges tantum profpiciunt fecuritati Reformatorum , & repagulis quibusdam Pontificiorum in illos conatus coercent , nec pœnam nec multam infligunt , nec aliud exigunt quam ne Pontificii regimini aut muneribus publicis admoveantur , atque eâ viâ cavere volunt ne Pontificii incrementum eamque acquirant vim & authoritatem , quæ Religioni Reformatæ formidolofa & quam maximo detrimento effe poffet , quod quotidie evenire videmus , quando qui ad munera & officia publica vocantur , aut Pontificiis aut Reformatis plus minus addicti funt.

Et quisquam mihi aut alteri autor foret ad *Principes* , quos Deus tam Illuftri Nutritiorum Ecclefiæ fuæ titulo exornat , inducendos aut premovendos , ut probarent , laudarent Reformatæ Religioni , quinimo quieti & tranquillitati publicæ extra omnem controverfiam tam periculofa tam noxia. Neque enim , pace quod fiat tuâ , ullus concedere poffum , nihil inde , quod tui arbitraris , damni

in the conduct of the *Reformed Religion* , and of the *Roman Catholicks* towards one another : The *Roman Catholicks* not being fatisfied to exclude the *Reformed* from all places of profit or of Truft , they do abfolutely fuppreff the whole Exercife of that *Religion* , and feverely *persecute* all that profefs it ; and this they do in all thofe places where it is fafe and without danger , to carry on that rigour . And I am forry that we have at this prefent fo many deplorable Inftances of this feverity before our eyes , that is at the fame time put in practice in fo many different places.

I would therefore gladly fee one fingle good reafon to move a *Proteftant* that fears God , and that is concerned for his *Religion* , to confent to the Repealing of thofe *Laws* that have been enacted by the Authority of *King & Parliament* , which have no other tendency but to the fecurity of the *Reformed Religion* and to the reftaining of the *Roman Catholicks* from a capacity of overturning it ; thefe *Laws* inflict neither Fines nor Punifhments , and do only exclude the *Roman Catholicks* from a fhare in the Government , who by being in Employments muft needs ftudy to increafe their Party , and to gain to it more Credit and Power , which by what we fee every day , we muft conclude , will be extremely dangerous.

damni Religionem Reformatam accepturam.

Fattor vulgo dici Pontificios in Anglia & Scotia non esse magno numero, & non nisi exiguam partem munerum & officiorum publicorum penes eos esse, (quanquam in Hybernia res plane aliter se habet) sed id mihi largiri necesse est, si numerus, ut dicitur, Pontificiorum est tam exiguus, hunc numerum non debere turbare tranquillitatem regni maxime cum tam ingens beneficium liberam scilicet exercendæ Religionis suæ facultatem acciperet: Quod si numerus eorum sit major, cum tantò magis metuendum. Plurimos quidem credo hoc rerum statu Pontificios non admodum fore avidos munerum aut officiorum publicorum, neque quicquam in Reformatos molituros, quod id Legibus prohibitum sciant, & vereantur, ne id quandoque maximum personis & bonis eorum dispendium asserre posset; sed remotis iis repagulis, videbimus eos regimini ad motos, & quam maximam munerum & officiorum publicorum partem ab iis exornari, neque Majestati suæ, ut ut forti est animo, integrum erit resistere

dangerous to the *Reformed Religion*; and must turn to its great prejudice: since in all places, those that are in publick Employments, do naturally Favour that *Religion* of which they are, either more or less. And who would go about to perswade me or any man else to endeavour move Their *Highnesses*, whom God hath honoured so far as to make them the Protectors of his Church, to approve of, or to consent to things so hurtful, both to the *Reformed Religion* and to the publick Safety. Nor can I, Sir, with your good leave, in any way grant what you apprehend, That no prejudice will thereby redound to the *Reformed Religion*.

I know it is commonly said, that the number of the *Roman Catholics* in *England* and *Scotland* is very inconsiderable; and that they are possessed only of a very small number of the places of Trust: tho even as to this, the case is quite different in *Ireland*: yet this you must of necessity grant me, that if their numbers are small, then it is not reasonable that the publick Peace should be disturbed on the account of so few persons; especially when so great a favour may be offered to them; such as the free Exercise of their *Religion* would be: and if their numbers are greater, then there is so much the more reason to be afraid of them; I do indeed believe that

stere iis qui quotidie & sine ulla intermissione hoc urgebunt, & ut obtineant, conscientiam & religionem Majestatis suae appellabunt; quid autem Reformatis hoc legum auxilio destitutis ab ejusmodi Magistratu foret expectandum, & quantum emolumentum Pontificiis, iis Legum vinculis solutis accederet, clarius est, quam ut demonstratione aut probatione egrat.

In dubium vocare nec debeo nec volo sinceram Majestatis suae intentionem, nec aliud ei esse propositum, quam ut subditi sui aequo jure & aequali libertate vivant, agant; verum ratio ipsa & omnium temporum etiam hujus experientia evincunt, impossibile esse, quod Pontificii & Reformati regimini, muneribus, officiis publicis simul admoti, placide & quiete ea administrabunt, nec alter alteri suspectus sit, cum in principis & fundamentis ipsis adeo sibi invicem oppositi & contrarii reperiuntur; nec meo quidem iudicio in ulius Regis aut Principis potestate erit, similitates & emulationes inde semper repullulaturas tollere.

Quod autem vereris ne ii quos *Dissentientes* nominant, eam quam dixi

Roman Catholicis, as things at present stand, will not be very desirous to be in publick Offices and Employments, nor that they will make any attempts upon the *Reformed Religion* both because this is contrary to Law, and because of the great Inconveniences that this may bring at some other time both on their Persons, and their Estates: yet if the Restraints of the Law were once taken off, you would see them brought into the Government, and the chief Offices and Places of Trust would be put in their hands; nor will it be easy to his Majesty to resist them in this, how steadfast soever he may be; for they will certainly press him hard in it, and they will represent this to the King, as a matter in which his Conscience will be concerned; and when they are possessed of the Publick Offices, what will be left for the *Protestants* to do, who will find no more the support of the Law, and can expect little Encouragement from such Magistrates? and on the other hand, the Advantages that the *Roman Catholics* would find in being thus set loose from all Restraints, are so plain, that it were a loss of time to go about the proving it. I neither can nor will doubt of the sincerity of his Majesties intentions, and that he has no other design before him in this matter, but that all his Subjects

diximus libertatem adipiscantur per abolitionem legum pœnaliũ, nisi ex in totum, ut & *Testa* quam appellant, abrogentur, maximum quidem esset. Infortunium, sed unicè adscribendum Pontificiis, qui se & posteros suos legibus pœnalibus adstrictos, & totius populi odio expositos mallet quam prohiberi, ne quid contra securitatem & tranquillitatem Religionis Reformatæ moliantur, & carere hoc parvo commodo, si quod est, quod in administratione Reipublicæ, & in obeundis muneribus & officiis publicis consistere posset, cum tamen hæc semper & ubique fuerit, prærogativa publicæ & prædominantis, uti ajunt, Religionis. Reformatis certe hi Pontificiorum conatus, tanto magis suspecti & præcavendi essent, si viderint eos adhuc pœnalibus legibus obnoxios, id tamen agere, ut *Mæstas* sua autor fieret, velint nolint Reformati, ne sua religioni reformatæ Legibus jam firmata securitas constet, & ut Pontificiis aditus ad regimen, munera & officia publica pateat, quippe quibus tunc auxilii nihil superesset, quam quod à magistratu Pontificio expectandum foret.

may enjoy in all things the same Right and Freedoms.

But plain Reason, as well as the Experience of all Ages, the present as well as the past, shews, that it will be impossible for *R. Catholics* and *Protestants*, when they are mixed together in places of Trust and publick Employments, to live together peaceably, or to maintain a good Correspondence together. They will be certainly always jealous of one another; For the Principles and the Maxims of both *Religions* are so opposite to one another, that in my opinion I do not see how it will be in the power of any Prince or King whatsoever, to keep down those Suspicions and Animosities, which will be apt to arise upon all occasions.

As for that which you apprehend, that the *Dissenters* shall not be delivered from the *Penal Laws*, that are made against the, unless at the same time the *Test* be likewise repealed: this will be indeed a great unhappines to them; but the *Roman Catholics* are only to blame for it, who will rather be content that they and their Posterity should lie still under the weight of the *Penal Laws*, and exposed to the hatred of the whole Nation; than be still restrained from a capacity of attempting any thing against the Peace and the Security of the *Protestant Religion*.

ret. Injuriam sane maximam Sere-
nissimis Principibus facerent, qui
quid hac in re incommodi eveniret
ius ascriberent, cum animi sui sen-
tentiam tam aperte testati sint, ea-
que in tantum ipsorum Pontificio-
rum commodum cedat, idque ob
eam solam causam, quod permoveri
non potuerint, ut consentirent Le-
gibus ante latis tam contrariis & re-
ligioni reformatæ tam periculosis
tam noxiis, qualia sunt Pontificios ad
regimen, ad officia & munera pu-
blica admittere, & abrogare leges,
quæ unicè securitati & tranquillitati
religionis reformatæ, & ne quid in
eam Pontificii moliantur, inser-
vunt.

Scribis Pontificios h'is in provin-
ciis ab officiis & muneribus publicis
non excludi, sed in eo falleris. Le-
gibus in id latis Pontificiis nomina-
tim interdictum est, fungi ullis mu-
neribus sive administrationem Rei-
publicæ, sive Politiam, sive justiciam
spectent. A militaribus muniis,
quantum quidem ego scio, exclusi
non sunt, & duriusculum fuisset cum
in initiis Reipublicæ nostræ arma ad
defendendam publicam libertatem
etiam ipsi sumserint, strenuamque
ope-

And be deprived of that small ad-
vantage (if it is at all to be recko-
ned one) of having ashare in the
Government and publick Employ-
ments; since in all places of the
World this has been always the pri-
viledge of the *Religion* that is esta-
blished by Law; and indeed these
Attempts of the *Roman Catholicks*
ought to be so much the more sus-
pected and guarded against by *Prote-
stants*, in that they see that *Roman
Catholicks*, even when liable to the
Severity of *Penal Laws*, do yet en-
deavour to per swade his Majesty,
to make the *Protestants*, whether
they will or not, dissolve that Secu-
rity which they have for their *Reli-
gion*: and to clear a way for bring-
ing in the *Roman Catholicks* to the
Government, and to publick Em-
ployments. in which case there
would remain no relief for them but
what were to be expected from a
Roman Catholick Government.

Such then will be very unjust to
Their Highnesses, who shall blame
them for any Inconveniency that
may arise from thence; since they
have declared themselves so freely
on this subject, and that so much to
the advantage even of the *Roman
Catholicks*. And since the Settlement
of matters sticks at this single point,
that Their Highnesses cannot be
brought to consent to things that
are so contrary to *Laws* already in
being

operam navaverint; eos etiam à militaribus officiis remotos habere, maxime cum salus publica nullum inde detrimentum acciperet, tum ob exiguum eorum numerum, tum quod Ordines, nascentibus omnibus motibus & molitionibus facile obviam ire potuerint, quod utique tam promptè fieri non potuisset, si Pontificii etiam regimini, muneribus & officiis publicis admoti fuissent.

Certum sum & liquidò testari possum *Serenissimis Principibus* nihil æquè in votis esse, quam ut Majestas sua regnet, & qui illi parent, vivant sibi invicem quam maxime confisi, ut populus eam observet, colat, veneretur, omni studio, obedientia & obsequio, persuasissimus sit de Paterno Majestatis suæ in eum animo & affectu: sed credere sese & conscientia sua convictos esse *Religionem Reformatam certissimo periculo, Regnum vero quam plurimis malis exponi, si aut abrogationem Testa, uti appellant, aut aliam legum pænaliū abolitionem, quam de qua mentionem sæpius jam feci, promoveant, aut cum Majestate sua id con-*

being, and that are so dangerous and so hurtful to the *Protestant Religion*, as the admitting of *Roman Catholic*s to a share in the Government, and to places of Trust, and the Repealing of those *Laws*, that can have noother effect but the Securing of the *Protestant Religion* from all the Attempts of the *Roman Catholic*s against it would be.

You write, *That the Roman Catholic*s in these Provinces are not shut out from Employments and places of Trust; But in this you are much mistaken. For our *Laws* are expresse, excluding them by name from all share in the Government, and from all Employments either of the Policy or Justice of our Country. It is true, I do not know of any expresse *Law* that shuts them out of Military Employments, that had indeed been hard, since in the first Formation of our *State* they joined with us in defending our publick Liberty, and did us eminent service during the wars; therefore they were not shut out from those Military Employments; for the publick Safety was no way endanger'd by this, both because their numbers that served in our Troops were not great, and because the *States* could easily prevent any Inconvenience that might arise out of that; which could not have been done so easily, if the *Roman Catholic*s had been admitted to a

nentur , se iis conscientię vinculis teneri , scientes quam severam Deus ab iis rationem exigeret , si propter *perituras hujus sæculi utilitates* operam suam contulissent in ea quæ ex conscientia animi sui tam periculosa tam noxia religioni reformatæ existimant.

Serenissimi Principes maximâ semper veneratione prosequuti sunt & etiamnum prosequuntur Majestatem suam , persuasi id officii sui esse , tam ex Legis divinæ quàm naturalis præscripto ; sed percipere neutiquam possunt (cum sic agatur non de ferendis , sed de abolendis in totum Legibus cum consensu Regis & populi latis) ab illis exigi posse , ut consentiant tali abrogationi , à qua animus eorum [tam alienus est , & quæ adversatur omnibus totius orbis Christiani tam Põntificii quàm Reformati Legibus & consuetudinibus , quæ non alios ad regimen , munera & officia publica admittunt , quam qui profitentur religionem publicam & prædominantem , uti ajunt , & quæ sollicitè satis præcaverunt , ne ea Religio turbetur aut detrimenti aliquid accipiat.

Ne-

Share in the Government , and in the Policy or Justice of our *State*.

I am very certain of this , of which I could give very good proofs , that there is nothing which Their *Hightnesses* desire so much , as that his *Majesty* may Reign happily and in an intire Confidence with his Subjects ; and that his subjects being persuaded of his *Majesties* fatherly affection to them , may be ready to make him all the returns of duty that are in their Power : But their *Hightnesses* are convinced in their Consciences , that both the *Protestant Religion* and the Safety of the *Nation* , would be exposed to most certain , Dangers , if either the *Test* , or those other *Penal Laws* , of which I have made frequent mention , should be Repealed ; Therefore they cannot consent to this , nor concur with his *Majesty's Will* ; for they believe , they should have much to Answer for to God , if the consideration of any present advantages should carry them to consent and concur in things which they believe would be not only dangerous but mischievous to the *Protestant Religion*.

Their *Hightnesses* have ever pay'd a most profound duty to His *Majesty* , which they will alwayes continue to do ; for they consider themselves bound to it , both by the Laws of God and of nature ; But since the matter that is now in hand , relates

not

Neceſſe non puto ut multis adſtruam quàm Sereniſſimi Principes Majeſtati ſuæ devoti ſint, cum reiſſa id tam publicis documentis, quæ quicquid verborum eſſingi poteſt, longe ſuperant, teſtati, Et parati ſint eadem adhuc pari, aut ſi fieri poſſit, majori ſtudio & zelo repetere.

Te vero, ut hæc quæ tantâ cum libertate ad te ſcripſi, eodem quo ſcripta ſunt animo accipias, vehementer rogat.

Vir Nobiliſſime ac
Pridie Non: No- Ampliſſime tibi
vemb. 1687. addiſtiſſimus.

GASP: FAGEL.

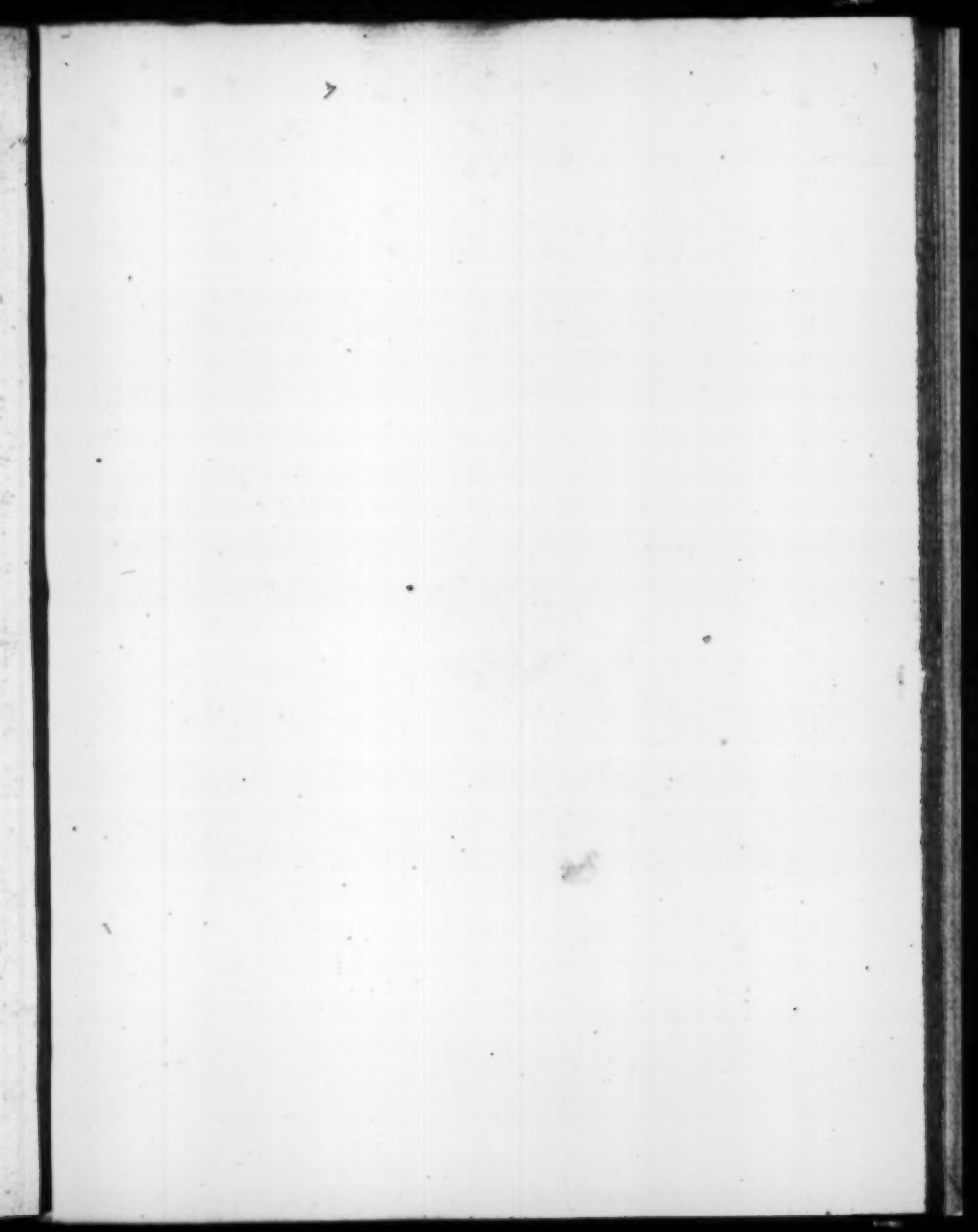
not to the making of *new Laws*, but to the total Repealing of thoſe already made both by *King* and *Parliament*; they do not ſee how it can be expected of them, that they ſhould conſent to ſuch a *Repeal*, to which they have ſo juſt an averſion, as being a thing that is contrary to the *Laws* and *customs* of all *Chriſtian States* whether *Proteſtants*, or *Papiſts*, who receive none to a ſhare in the Government, or to publick Employments, but thoſe who profeſs the publick and eſtabliſhed *Religion*, and that take care to ſecure it againſt all attempts wharſoever.

I do not think it neceſſary to demonſtrate to you how much their *Highneſſes* are devoted to his *Majeſty* of which they have given ſuch real Evidences as are beyond all verbal ones; and they are Reſolved ſtill to continue in the ſame Duty, and Affection; or rather to encrease it, if that is poſſible. I am, SIR,

Yours, &c.

Nov. 4. 1687.

London printed in the Year 1688.



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THE LIFE
OF
The most Learned, Re-
verend and Pious
D^R H. HAMMOND.

Written
By JOHN FELL D.D.
Dean of *Christ-Church* in
Oxford.

LONDON,
Printed by *J. Fleisher* for *Jo. Martin,*
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in Saint *Paul's* Church-yard.
MDCLXI.



Walter Young
Lichfield. (1)



THE LIFE

OF

The most Learned, Re-
verend and Pious

D^R H. HAMMOND.

DOCTOR *Henry Hammond*,
whose Life is now at-
tempted to be writ-
ten, was born upon
the 18 of *August* in the year 1605.
at *Chersey* in *Surrey*, a place former-
ly of remark for *J. Caesar's* suppo-
sed

sed passing his Army there over the *Thames*, in his Enterprize upon this Island, as also for the entertainment of Devotion in its earliest reception by our *Saxon* Ancestors; and of later years, for the Charity of having given burial to the equally pious and unfortunate Prince King *Hen. vi.*

He was the youngest Son of *D^r John Hammond* Physician to *Prince Henry*, and from that great favourer of meriting servants and their relations, had the honor at the Font to receive his Christian Name.

Being yet in his long Coats, (which heretofore were usually worn beyond the years of Infancy;) he was sent to *Eaton School*; where his pregnancy having

ving been advantag'd by the more then paternal care and industry of his Father (who was an exact Critick in the learned Languages, especially the Greek, whereof he had been publick Professor in the University of *Cambridge*) became the observation of those that knew him: for in that tenderness of age he was not onely a Proficient in Greek and Latine, but had also some knowledge in the Elements of Hebrew: in the later of which Tongues, it being then rarely heard of even out of Grammar Schools, he grew the Tutor of those who begun to write themselves men, but thought it no shame to learn of one whose knowledge seem'd rather in-

fus'd then acquir'd; or in whom the learned Languages might be thought to be the Mother-Tongue. His skill in Greek was particularly advantag'd by the conversation and kindness of M^r *Allen*, one of the Fellows of the College, excellently seen in that Language, and a great assistant of S^r *Henry Savile* in his magnificent edition of S^r *Chrysostome*.

His sweetness of Carriage is very particularly remembered by his contemporaries, who observ'd that he was never engag'd (upon any occasion) into fights or quarrels; as also that at times allowed for Play, he would steal from his fellows into places of privacy, there to say his Prayers: *Omens* of his
his

his future pacifick temper and eminent Devotion.

At Thirteen years old he was thought, and (what is much more rare) was indeed ripe for the University, and accordingly sent to *Magdalen College in Oxford*, where not long after he was chosen *Demie*; and though he stood low upon the rolle, by a very unusual concurrence of providential Events, happen'd to be sped: and though having then lost his Father, he became destitute of the advantage which potent recommendation might have given, yet his merit voting for him, as soon as capable, he was chosen *Fellow*.

Being to proceed M^r of Arts, he was made Reader of the na-

tural Philosophy Lecture in the College, and also was employed in making the Funeral Oration on the highly-meriting President D^r Langton.

Having taken his Degree, he presently bought a Systeme of Divinity, with design to apply himself straightway to that study: but upon second thoughts he return'd for a time to Humane Learning, and afterwards, when he resum'd his purpose for Theology, took a quite different Course of reading from the other too much usual, beginning that Science at the upper end, as conceiving it most reasonable to search for primitive Truth in the primitive Writers, and not to suffer his Understanding to be prepossess

possest by the contrived and interested Schemes of modern, and withall obnoxious, Authors.

Anno 1629. being twenty four years of age, the Statutes of his House directing, and the Canons of the Church then regularly permitting it, he entred into Holy Orders, and upon the same grounds not long after took the degree of Bachelor in Divinity, giving as happy proof of his proficiency in Sacred, as before he had done in Secular knowledge. During the whole time of his abode in the University he generally spent 13 hours of the day in Study; by which assiduity, besides an exact dispatch of the whole Course of Philosophy, he read over in a manner all Claf-sick

sick Authors that are extant ; and upon the more considerable wrote, as he passed, *Scholia* and critical emendations , and drew up Indexes for his private use at the beginning and end of each book : all which remain at this time, and testify his indefatigable pains to as many as have perus'd his Library.

In the year 1633. the Reverend D' *Frewen*, the then President of his College, now Lord Archbishop of *York*, gave him the honor to supply one of his courses at the Court ; where the right Honorable the Earl of *Leicester* happening to be an Auditor, he was so deeply affected with the Sermon, and took so just a measure of the merit of the Preacher thence,

thence, that the Rectory of *Pensehurst* being at that time void, and in his gift, he immediately offer'd him the presentation: which being accepted, he was inducted on the 22 of *August* in the same year; and thenceforth from the Scholastick retirements of an University life, applied himself to the more busy Entertainments of a rural privacy, and what some have call'd the being buried in a Living: and being to leave the House, he thought not fit to take that advantage of his place, which from Sacrilege or selling of the Founders Charity, was by custome grown to be prudence and good husbandry.

In the discharge of his Ministerial function, he satisfied not him-

himself in diligent and constant Preaching only ; (a performance wherein some of late have phansied all Religion to consist) but much more conceived himself obliged to the offering up the solemn daily Sacrifice of Prayer for his people, administering the Sacraments, relieving the poor , keeping Hospitality, reconciling of differences amongst Neighbours, Visiting the sick, Catechising the youth.

As to the first of these, his *Preaching* , 'twas not at the ordinary rate of the Times, an unpremeditated, undigested effusion of shallow and crude conceptions ; but a rational and just discourse, that was to teach the Priest as well as the Lay-hearer.

His

His Method was (which likewise he recommended to his friends) after every Sermon to resolve upon the ensuing Subject; that being done, to pursue the course of study which he was then in hand with, reserving the Close of the Week for the provision for the next Lords-day. Whereby not only a constant progress was made in Science, but materials unawares were gain'd unto the immediate future Work: for, he said, be the Subjects treated of never so distant, somewhat will infallibly fall in conducive unto the present purpose.

The offices of *Prayer* he had in his Church, not only upon the Sundayes and Festivals and their
Eves,

Eves, as also Wednesdaies and Fridayes, according to the appointment of the *Rubrick*; (which strict duty and ministration when 'tis examined to the bottome will prove the greatest objection against the *Liturgy*; as that which, besides its own trouble and austerity, leaves no leisure for factious and licentious meetings at Fairs and Markets) but every day in the week, and twice on Saturdayes and Holy-day Eves : For his assistance wherein he kept a Curate, and allow'd him a comfortable Salary. And at those Devotions he took order that his Family should give diligent and exemplary attendance : which was the easilier perform'd, it being guided by his
his

his Mother, a woman of ancient Vertue, and one to whom he paid a more then filial Obedience.

As to the *Administration of the Sacrament*, he reduced it to an imitation, though a distant one, of Primitive frequency, to once a moneth, and therewith its anciently inseparable Appendant, the Offertory : wherein his instruction and happily-insinuating Example so farre prevail'd, that there was thenceforth little need of ever making any tax for the poor. Nay, (if the report of a sober person, born and bred up in that Parish, be to be believ'd) in short time a stock was rais'd to be alwaies ready for the apprenticing of young Children, whose Parents condition made the provision

vision for them an equal Charity to both the Child and Parent. And after this there yet remain'd a Superplufage for the assistance of the neighbour Parishes.

For the *Relief of the Poor*, besides the foremention'd Expedient, wherein others were sharers with him, unto his private Charity, the dedicating the tenth of all receits, and the daily Alms given at the door; he constantly set apart over and above every week a certain rate in money: and however rarely his own rent-dayes occur'd, the indigent had two and fifty quarter-dayes returning in his year. Yet farther, another Art of Charity he had, the selling Corn to his poor Neighbours at a rate below the Market-price:

price: which though, as he said, he had reason to do, gaining thereby the charge of portage; was a great benefit to them, who besides the abatement of price, and possibly forbearance, saved thereby a dayes-work.

He that was thus liberall to the necessitous poor, was no less *hospitable* to those of better quality: and as at other times he frequently invited his Neighbours to his table, so more especially on Sundayes; which seldome past at any time without bringing some of them his guests: but here beyond the Weekly treatments, the *Christmas* Festival had a peculiar allowance to support it. He knew well how much the application at the Table inforc'd

B

the

the doctrines of the Pulpit, and how subservient the endearing of his person was to the recommending his instructions, how far upon these motives our Saviour thought fit to eat with publicans and sinners, and how effectual the loaves were to the procuring of Disciples.

As by publick admonition he most diligently instill'd that great fundamental doctrine of Peace and Love, so did he likewise in his *private address and conversation*, being never at peace in himself, till he had procur'd it amongst his Neighbours; wherein God so blest him, that he not onely attain'd his purpose of uniting distant parties unto each other, but, contrary to the usual fate of reconcilers,

reconcilers, gain'd them to himself: there having been no person of his function any where better beloved then he when present, or lamented more when absent, by his flock. Of which tender and very filial affection, instead of more, we may take two instances: the one, that he being driven away, and his books plunder'd, one of his Neighbours bought them in his behalf, and preserved them for him till the end of the War: the other, that during his abode at *Penshurst* he never had any vexatious law dispute about his dues, but had his Tithes fully paid, and not of the most refuse parts, but generally the very best.

Though he judg'd the time

of *Sickness* an improper season for the great Work of Repentance; yet he esteemed it a most useful preparative, the voice of God himself exhorting to it: and therefore not only when desir'd made his *Visits* to all such as stood in need of those his charities, but prevented their requests by early and by frequent coming to them. And this he was so careful of, that after his remove from *Pensehurst*, being at *Oxford*, and hearing of the *Sickness* of one of his Parishioners, he from thence sent to him those instructions which he judg'd useful in that Exigent, and which he could not give at nearer distance.

For the institution of Youth
in

in the rudiments of Piety, his Custom was, during the warmer season of the year, to spend an hour before Evening prayer in *Catechising*, whereat the Parents and older sort were wont to be present, and from whence (as he with comfort was used to say) they reaped more benefit then from his Sermons. Where it may not be superfluous to observe that he introduced no new form of *Catechism*, but adher'd to that of the Church; rendring it fully intelligible to the meanest capacities by his explanations. It may be useful withall to advert, that if in those times Catechetical institution were very seasonable, 'twill now be much more; when Principles have been ex-

chang'd for dreams of words and notions ; if not for a worse season of profane contempt of Christian truth. But to return ; Besides all this, that there might be no imaginable assistance wanting, he took care for the providing an able Schoolmaster in the Parish, which he continued during the whole time of his abode.

And as he thus labour'd in the Spiritual building up of Souls, he was not negligent of the material fabrick committed to his trust : but repair'd with a very great Expence (the annual charge of 100 l.) his Parsonage-house ; till from an incommodious ruine he had render'd it a fair and pleasant dwelling ,
with

with the adherent conveniences of Gardens and Orchards.

While he was thus busy on his Charge, though he so prodigally laid out himself upon the interests of his Flock, as he might seem to have nothing left for other purposes ; and his Humility recommended above all things Privacy and Retirement to him : yet when the uses of the Publick call'd him forth, he readily obey'd the summons, and frequently preach'd both at S^t Paul's Crois, and the *Visitations* of his brethren the Clergy, (a *specimen* whereof appears in print) as also at the Cathedral Church of *Chichester*, where by the unsought-for favour of the Reverend Father in God, *Brian*,

then L^d Bishop of that See, now of *Winchester*, he had an interest, and had the dignity of *Arch-deacon*: which at the beginning of the late Troubles falling to him, he managed with great zeal and prudence, not only by all the charms of Christian Rhetorick, perswading to Obedience and Union; but by the force of demonstration, charging it as most indispensable duty, and (what was then not so readily believed) the greatest temporal interest of the inferior Clergy: wherein the eminent importance of the Truths he would inforce so far prevail'd over his otherwise-insuperable Modesty, that in a full Assembly of the Clergy, as he afterwards confest, he broke off
from

from what he had premeditated, and out of the abundance of his heart spoke to his Auditory ; and by the blessing of God, to which he attributed it, found a very signal reception.

In the year 1639. he proceeded D^r in Divinity, his Seniority in the University, and Employment in the Church, and (what perchance was a more importunate motive) the desire of Eleven of his Friends and Contemporaries in the same House, whom not to accompany might be interpreted an affected pride and singularity, at least an unkindness, joyntly perswading him to it.

His performance in the Act, where he answer'd the Doctors,
was

was to the equal satisfaction and wonder of his Hearers; a Countrey-life usually contracting at the least an unreadiness to the dextrous management of those Exercises, which was an Effect undiscernible in him.

About this time he became a Member of the Convocation call'd with the short Parliament in 1640. as after this he was named to be of the Assembly of Divines; his invincible Loyalty to his Prince and Obedience to his Mother the Church not being so valid arguments against his nomination, as the repute of his Learning and Vertue were on the other part, to have some title to him.

And

And now that Conformity became a Crime, and Tumults improving into Hostility and War, such a Crime as had chastisements severe enough; though the Committee of the Countrey summon'd him before them, and used those their best arguments of perswasion, threatnings and reproches, he still went on in his regular practice, and continued it till the middle of *July 1643*. At which time there being in his Neighbourhood about *Tunbridge* an attempt in behalf of the King, and his Doctrine and Example having had that good influence, as it was supposed, to have made many more ready to the discharge of their duty; it being defeated, the good Doctor (the malice of
one

one who design'd to succeed in his Living being withal assistant) was forc'd to secure himself by retirement; which he did, withdrawing himself to his old Tutor D^r *Buckner*; to whom he came about the 25 of *July* early in the Morning in such an habit as that Exigence made necessary for him, and whither not many dayes before his old Friend and fellow-pupil D^r *Oliver* came upon the same Errand. Which accident, & the necessity to leave his Flock, as the D^r afterwards frequently acknowledg'd, was that which did most affect him of any that he felt in his whole life: amidst which, though he was no valuer of trifles, or any thing that look'd like such, he had so extraordinary

nary a Dream, that he could not then despise, nor ever afterwards forget it.

'Twas thus ; He thought himself and a multitude of others to have been abroad in a bright and chearful day, when on a sudden there seem'd a separation to be made, and he with the far less number to be placed at a distance from the rest; and then the Clouds gathering, a most tempestuous Storm arose, with thundring and lightnings, with spouts of impetuous rain, and violent gusts of wind, and whatever else might adde unto a scene of horror; particularly balls of fire that shot themselves amongst the ranks of those that stood in the lesser party : When a gentle Whisper seem'd

seem'd to interrupt those other louder noises, saying, *Be still, and ye shall receive no harm.* Amidst these terrors the Doctor falling to his Prayers, soon after the Tempest ceas'd, and that known Cathedral-Anthem begun, *Come, Lord Jesus, come away;* with which he awoke. The correspondent Event of all which he found verified signally in the preservation both of himself and his friends, in doing of their duties; the which with much content he was us'd to mention. Beside, being himself taken to the Quires of Angels at the close of that Land-Hurricane of ours, whereof that dismal apparition was onely a faint Embleme; he gave thereby too literal a completion

tion to his Dream, and the unhappy credit of bordering upon Prophecy.

In this retirement the two Doctors remained about three weeks, till an alarm was brought, that a strict enquiry was made for D^r *Hammond*, and 100.l. promised as a reward for him that should produce him. Which suggestion though they easily apprehended to have a possibility of being false, yet they concluded a necessary ground for their remove.

Upon this they resolve to be gone; and D^r *Oliver*, having an interest in *Winchester*, which was then in the Kings Quarters, they chose that as the next place of their retreat. But being on the
way

way thither, D^r *Oliver*, who had sent his Servant before to make provision for them, was met and saluted with the News that D^r *Frewen*, President of *Magdalen College*, was made Bishop of *Litchfield*, and that the College had pitch'd upon him as Successor. This unlook'd-for accident (as justly it might) put D^r *Oliver* to new counsels; and since Providence had found out so seasonable a relief, enclin'd him not to desert it, but fly rather to his Preferments and advantage, then merely to his refuge, and so to divert to *Oxford*. To this Doctor *Hammond* made much difficulty to assent, thinking that too publick a place, and, what he more consider'd, too far from his Living,

ving, whither (his desires strongly enclining him) he had hopes (when the present fury was allay'd) to return again; and to that purpose had wrote to such Friends of his as were in power, to use their Interest for the procuring his Security. But his Letters meeting a cold reception, and the company of his Friend on one hand, and the appearance of deserting him on the other hand, charming him to it, he was at last perswaded; and encompassing *Hantshire* with some difficulty came to *Oxford*: Where procuring an appartment in his old College, he sought that peace in his Retirement and Study which was no where else to be met withall; taking no other diversion

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sion then what the giving Encouragement and instruction to ingenious young Students yielded him, (a thing wherein he peculiarly delighted) and the satisfaction which he receiv'd from the conversation of Learned men; who besides the usual store, in great number at that time for their Security resorted thither.

Among the many Eminent persons with whom he here convers'd, he had particular intimacy with D^r Potter Provost of Q^s College, to whom among other fruits of his Study he communicated his *Practical Catechism*, which for his private use he had drawn up. The Provost much taken with the design, and no less with the performance, importun'd

run'd him to make it publick; al-
ledging, in that lawless Age the
great use of supplanting the
empty form of Godliness which
so prevail'd, by substituting
of its real power and sober du-
ties; of silencing Prophaneness,
which then usurp'd the names
of Wit and Gallantry, by enfor-
cing the more eligible acts of the
Christians reasonable service,
which was not any other way so
happily to be done, as by begin-
ning at the foundation by sound,
and yet not trivial, Catechetick
institution.

It was not hard to convince
D^r *Hammond* that 'twere well if
some such thing were done; but
that his Writing would doe this
in any measure, or that he should

suffer his Name to become publick, it was impossible to perswade him. The utmost he could be brought to allow of was, that his Treatise was not likely to doe harm, but had possibilities of doing (it might be) some good, and that it would not become him to deny that service to the World; especially if his Modesty might be secur'd from pressure by the concealing of him to be the Author. And this Doctor *Potter*, that he might leave no subterfuge, undertook, and withall the whole care of, and besides the whole charge of the Edition. Upon these termes, only with this difference, that D^r *Hammond* would not suffer the Provost to be at the entire charge, but went
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an equal share with him, the *Practical Catechism* saw the light, and likewise the Author remain'd in his desir'd obscurity.

But in the mean time the Book finding the reception which it merited, the good Doctor was by the same arguments constrain'd to give way to the publishing of several other Tracts which he had written upon heads that were then most perverted by popular Error; as of *Conscience*, of *Scandal*, of *Will-worship*, of *Resisting the lawful Magistrate*, and of the *Change of Church-Government*; his Name all this while concealed, and so preserved, till Curiosity improving its guesses into confident asseverations, he was rumor'd for the Author, and as such publish'd

lish'd to the world by the *London* and *Cambridge* Stationers, who without his knowledge reprinted those and other of his Works.

In the interim a Treaty being labour'd by his Majesty, to compose (if it were possible) the unhappy differences in Church and State, and in order thereunto the Duke of *Richmond* and Earle of *Southampton* being sent to *London*; D^r *Hammond* went along as Chaplain to them; where with great zeal & prudence, he labor'd to undeceive those seduced persons whom he had opportunity to converse with: and when the Treaty was solemnly appointed at *Uxbridge*, several Divines being sent thither in behalf of the diffe-

different parties, he among other excellent men that adher'd to the *King*, was made choice of to assist in that Employment. And there (not to mention the debates between the Commissioners, which were long since publish'd by an Ho^{ble} hand) D^r *Steward* & M^r *Henderson* were at first only admitted to dispute; though at the second meeting the other Divines were call'd in: which thing was a surprize, and design'd for such, to those of the *King's* part, who came as Chaplains and private attendants on the Lords; but was before projected and prepared for by those of the Presbyterian way. And in this conflict it was the lot of D^r *Hammond* to have M^r *Vines* for his antagonist;

who in stead of tendring a Scholastick disputation, read from a paper a long Divinity-lecture, wherein were interwoven several little Cavils and exceptions, which were meant for Arguments. D' *Hammond* perceiving this, drew forth his pen and ink, and as the other was reading, took notes of what was said, and then immediately return'd in order an answer to the several suggestions, which were about forty in number: which he did with that readiness and sufficiency, as at once gave testimony to his ability, and to the evidence of the Truth he asserted; which amidst the disadvantage of *Extempore* against Premeditation, dispell'd with ease and perfect clearness
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all the Sophismes that had been brought against him.

'Tis not the present work to give an account of that whole Dispute, or character the merits of those Worthy Persons who were engag'd in it, either in that or the succeeding meetings: especially since it was resolv'd by both parties, that the transactions of neither side should be made publick. But notwithstanding this, since divers persons addicted to the defence of a side, without any further consideration of Truth or common Honesty, have in this particular wounded the Doctors reputation; I shall take leave to say, that had the Victories in the field which were manag'd by the Sword been like this
of

of the Chamber and the Tongue, a very easie Act of Oblivion must have atoned for them; since what never was, without much industry might be secur'd from being remembred. The impudent Falsity rais'd upon the *Doctor* was this, That Master *Vines* utterly silenc'd him; inso-much that he was fain to use this unheard-of Stratageme to avoid his Adversaries demonstration, to swear by *God* and *the holy Angels*, that though at present a Solution did not occurre to him, he could answer it. Concerning this we have the Doctors own account in a Letter of his bearing date *Jan. 22. Anno 1655.* directed to a friend who had advertis'd him of this report.

I have formerly been told within these few years that there went about a Story much to my disparagement, concerning the Dispute at Uxbridge (for there it was, not at Holdenby) with M^r Vines; but what it was I could never hear before: Now I doe, I can, I think, truly affirm, that no one part of it hath any degree of truth, save only that M^r Vines did dispute against, and I defend, Episcopacy. For as to the Argument mention'd; I did neither then, nor at any time of my life, (that I can remember) ever hear it urg'd by any. And for my pretended Answer, I am both sure that I never call'd God and his holy Angels to witness any thing in my life, nor ever swore one voluntary Oath that I know of, (and sure there was then none impos'd on me) and that I
was

was not at that Meeting conscious to my self of wanting ability to express my thoughts, or prest with any considerable difficulty, or forc'd by any consideration to wave the answer of any thing objected. A Story of that whole affair I am yet able to tell you ; but I cannot think it necessary. Only this I may adde, That after it I went to M^r Marihall in my own and brethrens names, to demand three things ;

1. Whether any Argument propos'd by them remain'd unanswered, to which we might yield farther answer.
2. Whether they intended to make any report of the past-disputation ; offering, if they would, to joyn with them in it, and to perfect a Conference by mutual Consent, after the manner of that between D^r Reynolds and M^r Hart : both which being rejected,

jected, the 3. was, to promise each other that nothing should be afterwards publish'd by either without the Consent or knowledg of the other party: and that last he promis'd for himself and his brethren, and so we parted.

But while these things were in doing, a Canonry in *Christ-church* in *Oxford* became vacant, which the *King* immediately bestowed on D^r *Hammond*, though then absent; whom likewise the *University* chose their publick *Orator*: which preferments though collated so freely, and in a time of Exigence, he was with much difficulty wrought upon by his Friends to accept, as minding nothing so much as a return to his old Charge at *Penshurst*. But the
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impossibility of a sudden opportunity of going thither being evident unto him, he at last accepted ; and was soon after made Chaplain in Ordinary to his Majesty.

But these new Employments no way diverted him from his former tasks ; for , according to his wonted Method, he continued to address remedies to the encreasing Mischiefs of the Times, and publish'd the Tracts of *Superstition, Idolatry, Sins of Weakness and Wilfulness, Death-bed Repentance, View of the Directory* ; as also in answer to a *Romanist*, who taking advantage of the publick Ruine , hoped to erect thereon Trophees to the Capitol ; his *Vindication of the Lord Falkland*, who
was

was not long before slain in another kind of War.

But now the King's affairs declining every where, and *Oxford* being forc'd upon Articles to surrender to the Enemy, where after the expiration of six moneths all things were to be left to the lust and fury of a servile, and therefore insolent, Conquerour; though he foresaw a second and more fatal siege approaching, a leaguer of encamp'd inevitable mischiefs; yet he remitted nothing of his wonted Industry, writing his *Traacts of Fraternal Correction*, and *Power of the Keyes*, and *Apologies by Letter* against the Pulpit-calumnies of M^r *Cheynel*, and the Exceptions taken at his *Practical Catechism*.

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In the mean time his Sacred Majesty, sold by his *Scotish* into the hands of his *English* Subjects, and brought a Prisoner to *Holdenby*, where stripp'd of all his Royal Attendants, and denied that common Charity which is afforded the worst of Malefactors, the assistance of Divines, though he with importunity desir'd it; He being taken from the Parliament Commissioners into the possession of the Army, at last obtain'd that kindness from them (who were to be cruel at another rate) which was withheld by the two Houses, and was permitted the service of some few of his Chaplains, whom he by name had sent for, and among them of D^r *Hammond*.

Accor-

Accordingly the good Doctor attended on his Master in the several removes of *Woburn*, *Cave-sham* and *Hampton-Court*, as also thence into the Isle of *Wight*, where he continued till *Christmas* 1647. at which time his Majesties Attendants were again put from him, and he amongst the rest.

Sequestred from this his melancholick, but most desir'd, Employment, he return'd again to *Oxford*: where being chosen *Sub-dean*, an Office to which belongs much of the Scholastick government of the College, and soon after prov'd to be the whole, the Dean, for the guilt of asserting the Rights of his Majesty and University in his station of Vice-
D Chan-

Chancellor, being made a Prisoner, he undertook the entire Management of all affairs; and discharg'd it with great sufficiency and admirable diligence, leaving his beloved studies to interest himself not only in moderating at Divinity-disputations, which was then an immediate part of his Task, but in presiding at the more youthful Exercises of Sophistry, Themes and Declamations; redeeming still at night these Vacuities of the day, scarce ever going to bed till after midnight, sometimes not till three in the morning, and yet certainly rising to prayers at five.

Nor did his inspection content it self in looking to the general performances of duty, but de-

descended to an accurate survey of every ones both practice and ability ; so that this large Society of Scholars appear'd his private Family, he scarce leaving any single person without some mark or other of both his Charity and Care, relieving the necessitous in their several wants of Money and of Books , shaming the vicious to Sobriety, encouraging the ingenuous to Diligence, and finding stratagems to ensnare the idle to a love of Study. But above all he endeavour'd to prepare his charge for the reception of the impending Persecution; that they might adorn their Profession, and not at the same time suffer for a Cause of Righteousness, and as Evil-doers.

To this End he both admitted and solemnly invited all sober persons to his familiarity and converse; and beside that, receiv'd them to his weekly private Office of Fasting and Humiliation.

But now the long-expected Ruine breaking in with its full weight and torrent, the *Visitors* chaf'd with their former disappointments and delayes, coming with hunters stomacks, and design to boot, for to seize first and then devour the prey, by a new method of judicature being to kill and then take possession; the Excellent Doctor became involv'd in the general Calamity: And whereas the then usual Law of expulsion was immediately to banish

banish into the wide world by beat of Drum, injoyning to quit the Town within 24 hours upon pain of being taken and us'd as Spies, and not to allow the unhappy Exiles time for the dispose either of their private affairs, or stating the accounts of their respective Colleges or Pupils; the Reverend D^r *Sheldon*, now Lord B^p of *London*, and Dean of his Majesties Chappel Royal, and D^r *Hammond*, were submitted to a contrary fate, and by an Order from a Committee of Parliament were restrain'd and voted to be prisoners in that place, from which all else were so severely driven. But such was the authority and command of Exemplary Vertue, that the person

design'd to succeed in the Canonry of *Christ-Church*, though he had accepted of the place at *London*, and done his Exercise for it at *Oxford*, acting as publick Orator in flattering there the then-pretending Chancellor, yet had not courage to pursue his undertaking, but voluntarily relinquish'd that infamous robbery, and adher'd to a less scandalous one in the Country. And then the Officer who was commanded to take D^r *Sheldon* and him into Custody upon their design'd removal, Col. *Evelin*, then Governor of *Wallingford Castle*, (though a man of as opposite principles to Church and Church-men as any of the adverse party) wholly declin'd the employment, solemnly pro-

protesting that if they came to him, they should be entertain'd as Friends, and not as Prisoners.

But these remorses prov'd but of little effect ; the Prebend of *Christ-Church* being suddenly supply'd by a second choice, and *Oxford* it self being continued the place of their Confinement : Where accordingly the good Doctor remain'd , though he were demanded by his Majesty to attend him in the Isle of *Wight* at the Treaty there, which then was again re-inforc'd. The pretence upon which both *he* and the reverend D^r *Sheldon* were refused was, that they were Prisoners ; and probably the gaining that was the cause why they were so. But notwithstanding the denial

of a personal Attendance, the Excellent *Prince* requir'd that assistance which might consist with absence, and at this time sent for a Copy of that *Sermon* which almost a year before he had heard preach'd in that place. The which *Sermon* his Majesty, and thereby the publick, receiv'd with the accession of several others delivered upon various Occasions.

D^r *Hammond* having continued about ten weeks in his restraint in *Oxford*, where he begun to actuate his designe of writing *Annotations* on the *New Testament*, (nor was it disproportionate that those Sacred Volumes, a great part of which were wrote in bonds, should be first commented upon by the very parallel suffering,

ring, and that the Work it self should be so dedicated, and the Expositor fitted for his task by being made like the Authors) by the interposition of his Brother in law, S^r *John Temple*, he had licence granted to be removed to a more acceptable confinement, to *Clapham* in *Bedfordshire*, the House in which his worthy Friend S^r *Philip Warwick* lived. Where soon after his arrival, that horrid mockery of Justice, the rape and violence of all that's Sacred, made more abominable by pretending to Right and Piety, the *Trial* of the *King*, drew on; and he being in no other capacity to interpose then by writing, drew up an *Address* to the General and Council of Officers, and transmitted

mitted it to them. And when that unexampled VILLANY found this Excuse, that it was such as could be pleaded for, and men in cool blood would dare to own and justifie, he affix'd his Reply to the suggestions of *Ascham* and *Goodwin*. And now although he indulg'd to his just and almost-infinite Grievs, which were transported to the utmost bounds of sober Passion, the affectionate personal respect he bore unto that glorious Victime being added to the detestation due unto the guilt it self, of which no man was more sensible then he who had strange antipathies to all sin, he gave not up himself to an unactive dull amazement; but with the redoubled use of Fasting, Tears and

and solemn Prayer, he resum'd his wonted Studies; and besides his fitting the *Annotations* for the Press, and his little Tract of the *Reasonableness of Christian Religion*, he now compos'd his Latine one against *Blondel* in the behalf of *Episcopacy*. As to the first of which, (his *Annotations*,) the manner of its birth and growth was thus.

Having written in Latine two large Volumes in *Quarto* of the way of interpreting the New Testament, with reference to the customs of the Jews and of the first Hereticks in the Christian Church, and of the Heathens, especially in the Grecian games, and above all the importance of the *Hellenistical* Dialect, into which he had made the exactest search

search (by which means in a manner he happened to take in all the difficulties of that Sacred Book :) He began to consider that it might be more useful to the English Reader, who was to be his immediate Care, to write in our vulgar Language, and set every Observation in its natural order, according to the guidance of the Text. And having some years before collated several Greek Copies of the New Testament, observ'd the variation of our English from the Original, and made an entire Translation of the whole for his private use; being thus prepar'd, he cast his work into that form in which it now appears. The reasons of it need not to be here inserted, being

ing set down by his own Pen in his Preface to his *Annotations*.

The Tractate against *Blondel* grew to its last form and constitution by not-unlike degrees, having a very different occasion from the last performance. The immediate antecedent cause is own'd, and long agoe presented to the World in that writing; the more remote Original is as follows. The late most Learned *Primate of Armagh* having receiv'd from *David Blondel* a Letter of Exception against his Edition of *Ignatius*, he communicated it to D^r *Hammond*, desiring his sense of several passages therein contained, relating to the *Valentinian Heresie*, *Episcopal* and *Chorepiscopal* power, and some emergent difficulties

culties concerning them, from the Canons of several antient Eastern Councils. To all this the Doctor wrote a peculiar answer, promising a fuller account if it would be useful. Upon the receipt whereof the *Archbishop* being highly satisfied, return'd his thanks, and lai'd hold of the promise: which being accordingly discharg'd, became the provision (and gave materials) to a great part of the *Dissertations*. The *Primate's* Letter ran in these words:

I have read with great delight and content your accurate Answer to the Objections made against the credit of Ignatius his Epistles, for which I do most heartily thank you, and am moved thereby farther to intreat you,

to

to publish to the World in Latine what you have already written in English against this Objecter, and that other, who for your pains hath rudely requited you with the base appellation of *Nebulo* for the assertion of Episcopacy: to the end it may no longer be credited abroad, that these two have beaten down this Calling, that the defense thereof is now deserted by all men, as by *Lud. Capellus* is intimated in his *Thesis of Church-government*, at Sedan lately published, which I leave unto your serious Consideration, and all your Godly labours to the blessing of our good God, in whom I evermore rest,

Your very loving Friend
and Brother,

Rygate in Surry
Jul. 21. 1649.

Ja. Armachanus.

Now

Now in this request the *Archbishop* was so concern'd, that he re-inforc'd it by another Letter of *Aug. 30.* and congratulated the performance by a third of *Jan. 14.* Both which, though very worthy to see the publick light, are yet forborn, as several of the like kinde from the Reverend Fathers the *Bishops* of this and our Sister Churches, as also from the most eminent for Piety and Learning of our own and the neighbouring Nations: which course is taken not onely in accordance to the desires and sentiments of the Excellent Doctor, who hated every thing that look'd like Ostentation; but likewise to avoid the very unpleasing choice, either to take the trouble of recounting
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all the *Doctors* Correspondencies, or bear the envie of omitting some.

But to return to the present task, and that of the good *Doctor*, which now was to perfect his Commentaries on the New Testament, and finish the Dissertations : amidst which cares he met with another of a more importunate nature, the loss of his dear *Mother*, which had this unhappy accession, that in her Sicknels he could not be permitted, by reason of his being concern'd in the *Proclamation* that banish'd those that adher'd to the *King* twenty miles from *London*, to visit her; nor while she pai'd her latest debt to Nature, to pay his earlier one of filial homage & attendance.

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A few months after, the rigour of that restraint with the declining of the year (a season judg'd less commodious for Enterprize) being taken off, he removed into *Worcestershire*, to *Westwood*, the House of the eminently-Loyal S^r *John Pakington*: where being settled, and proceeding in the edition of those his Labours which he had begun at *Clapham*, his *Majestie* coming to *Worcester*, by his neighbourhood to that place, the good *Doctor*, as he had the satisfaction personally to attend his *Sovereign*, and the honour to receive a Letter from his own hand of great importance, for the satisfaction of his Loyal Subjects concerning his adherence to the establish'd Religion of
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the Church of *England*, wherein his Royal Father liv'd a Saint, and died a Martyr: so likewise had he on the other part the most immediate agonies for his defeat; to which was added the Calamity which fell upon the Family where he dwelt, from the Persecution and danger of the generous Master of it. But it pleased God to give an issue out of both those difficulties, especially in the miraculous deliverance of his Sacred Majestie; a dispensation of so signal an importance, that he allow'd it a solemn recognition in his constant offices during his whole life, receiving that unusual interposition of Providence as a pledge from Heaven of an arriere of mercies, to use his own words,

That God, who had thus powerfully rescued him from *Ægypt*, would not suffer him to perish in the *Wilderness*; but though his passage be through the *Red Sea*, he would at last bring him into *Canaan*; that he should come out of his tribulations as gold out of the fire, purified, but not consumed.

But notwithstanding these reflexions, bottom'd upon Piety and reliance upon Heaven, the present state of things had a quite different prospect in common eyes; and the generality of men thinking their Religion as troublesome a burthen as their Loyalty, with the same prudence by which they chang'd their mild and gracious Sovereign for a bloody *TYRANT*, began to seek a pompous and imperious Church

Church abroad, in stead of a pious and afflicted one at home. To which Event the *Roman* Missionaries gave their liberal contribution, affording their preposterous Charity to make them Proselytes who had no mind to be Confessors or Martyrs. Here-upon the *Doctor* thought it highly seasonable to write his Tract of *Schism*, and oppose it to that most popular topick whereby they amus'd and charm'd their fond Disciples. And whereas the love of Novelty prevail'd in several other instances, as in controlling the use and authority of the Scripture, defending incestuous Marriages, Polygamy, Divorce, the anabaptizing of Infants, the schismatical Ordination of Ministers by mere Presbyters, and

disuse of the Festivals of the Church; he apply'd his antidotes to each : by which means he made himself the common mark of opposition to all parties. For (besides the assaults from a whole Classis of Antagonists which the *Dissertations* had engag'd against him, and to which he was preparing his defence) upon the *Romanists* part he was charg'd by the *Catholick Gentleman* and his armour-bearer *S.W.* on the *Presbyterian* account by *M^r Cawdry* and *M^r Jeanes*; and in the behalf of the *Independents* and *Anabaptists* by *M^r Owen* and *M^r Tombs* : not to mention several others that sought themselves a name by being his gain-sayers, but fail'd of their purpose, by bringing onely spight and passion

sion into the quarrel, and so were to be answered onely by pity and silence.

Nor did he onely stand and keep at bay this multiply'd contest ; but (as if this had not been task enough) besides the intercurrent offices of life, his reception of Visits, answering of Letters, his constant Preaching and Catechising, he found leisure to write his Tract of *Fundamentals*, his *Parænesis* , his *Review of the Annotations*; and amidst all, to be in debt to his importunate Antagonists for nothing but their Railing, leaving that the only thing unanswer'd. Nay more then so, brought several of them even under their own hands to recognize their sense of their undue

procedure us'd by them unto him : which their acknowledgments yet remain, and are producible upon occasion.

And would to God he had met no other opposition, for in the entrance on these conflicts that strength of Body which before had faithfully attended his indefatigable Minde began to fail him, and those four torments of disease, which single have been judg'd a competent trial of humane sufferance, the *Stone*, the *Gout*, the *Colick*, and the *Cramp*, (the last of which was to him as tyrannous as any of the former) became in a manner the constant exercise of his Christian Fortitude and Patience; affording him from this time to the end of his life very

ry rare and short intervals of vigorous Health.

But among all his Labours, although Polemick discourses were otherwise most uneasy, as engaging to converse with men in Passion, a thing he naturally abhorr'd, his *Parænesis*, a persuasive and practical Tract (which now he wrote, and which upon that account was exceeding agreeable to his desires) cost him most throws and pangs of birth, as having been penn'd first in Tears, & then in Ink. For however with great serenity he entertain'd all other accidents, having habituated himself to his beloved doctrine of *submitting not to the Will of God alone, but to his Wisdome, both which he was us'd to say were perfectly*

perfectly one thing in that blest Agent,
 (and accordingly in the most dis-
 mall appearance of Event made
 this constant Motto, *נִם וְ לַטּוֹבָה*
Even this for good;) yet in this in-
 stance the tenderness of his Soul
 seem'd to have melted his reso-
 lution: the occasion of that Trea-
 tise being the interdict of Jan.
 1655. which disabled the Loy-
 all suffering Clergy from doing
 any Ministerial act, which he
 resented with the highest passion,
 not onely upon the general ac-
 count of God's more immediate
 displeasure to the Nation legible
 therein, but (what he had much
 less reason to doe) in reference
 to his own particular, he look-
 ing on this dispensation of Provi-
 dence as God's pronouncing him
 un-

unworthy to doe him Service, the reproaching (to use his own words) *his former unprofitableness by casting him out as straw to the dunghill.* Nor should any consideration that terminated on himself have perswaded him at all to regard that tyrannous injunction, had not Charity to the Family where he was made him content to admit of an Expedient that secur'd all real duties, whilst he for some short time forbore that attendance on the Altar which was the very joy of his life.

And now, though his Physicians had earnestly forbidden his accustomed Fastings, and his own weaknesses gave forcible suffrages to their advice; yet he resum'd

sum'd his rigors, esteeming this calamity such a one as admitted no exception, which should not be outliv'd, but that it became men to be Martyrs too, and deprecate even in death.

While he thus earnestly implor'd the aides of Heaven, and exhorted unto present Duty, he omitted not a third Expedient, the securing a Succession to the Church, thereby to preserve its future being. And this he did not onely in reference to the superior order of *Episcopacy*, which it has pleased God now to secure by another more gracious method of his favour, & even miraculous goodness; but also in the *inferior attendance on the Altar*: the later of which as it was an Enterprize

prise suiting well with his heroick Minde, so was it no way answering his narrow Fortunes. The thing in his design was this; Whereas the antient stock of Clergy-men were by this Edict in a manner render'd useless, and the Church was at best like the *Roman State* in it's first beginning, *res unius etatis populus Virorum*, a Nation of antient persons hastening to their graves, who must in a few years be wasted; he projected by Pensions unto hopeful persons in either University, to maintain a Seminary of Youth. instituted in Piety and Learning upon the sober Principles and old establishment of the *Anglicane Church*. In which work though the assistances he presum'd on fail'd

fail'd in a great measure, yet somewhat not inconsiderable in this kinde by himself and friends he did atchieve, and kept on foot until his death. In his instructions to them whom he employ'd in this affair, he gave in charge carefully to seek out such as were piously enclin'd, and to prefer that qualification before unsanctified good parts; adding this as a certain Maxime, that Exemplary Vertue must restore the Church.

And whereas that black Defeat at Worcester, raising the insolent Tyrant here unto that Greatness w^{ch} almost outwent the impudence of his hopes, made him to be feared by forein Nations almost as much as hated by his own, the Loyal Sufferers abroad became subjected to the

the worst effect of Banishment, & even there expell'd and driven from their flights; so paralleling in their Exigences the most immediate objects of that Monster's fury. The Excellent D^r, to whose diffusive Vertue the limits of the Nation were too streight a Circle, thought this a season to exert his Charity: accordingly, though this greatest duty were solemnly declared Treason, he then continued to send over several Summs for their relief.

Which practice of his, by the surprise of the person intrusted, being discovered to the Tyrant, he was alarm'd with the expectation of that usage which was then a certain consequent of such meritorious acts. But this adventure

ture brought nothing of amazement or disturbance to the Doctor, his most importunate reflection being only this, that he seem'd to have gain'd an opportunity of saying something very home to that fierce Monster concerning his foul deeds, and to discourse the appropriate ways remaining to alleviate at least, if not to expiate for them; which he purpos'd within himself to press to the highest advantage: and indeed this was the onely issue of that so threatening Accident, God's restraining power interposing here, and exemplifying upon him what in others he was wont to observe, *that they who least consider'd hazard in the doing of their duties fared still best.* And

And this success as it was indeed, and accordingly he frequently acknowledg'd it for, an eminent act of the Divine Providence; so we may likewise take it as a signal testimony of the commanding worth the *Doctor* had, which extorted a reverence to his person from that worst of men, and render'd him a Sanctuary, perhaps the onely one this Architect of Mischief stood in aw of, and even his Sacrilege preserv'd inviolate.

Nor did this danger being over, as with others in all likelihood it would have done, persuade to caution for the future; but with the wonted diligence that formerly he us'd, he immediately proceeded, and chearful-
F ly

ly went on in the pursuit of his heroick Charity.

Amidst these diversions grew up the Labours of this *Heroe*, the issues of his Brain, being not onely midwiv'd into the world like natural births with torment and disease, but wrote, like *Cæsar's Commentaries*, in Dangers and in War. And now besides the Replies which the importunities of *M^r Owen*, *M^r Jeanes*, and *M^r Tombs* drew from him, *W.S.* continuing his loud clamors and impudent triumph at his own folly, the good *Doctor* suffer'd himself to be engag'd on that long Answer, which prov'd the last of that kind he made, excepting that *single sheet* put out a few months before his death,

as a *specimen* to what desperate shifts the patrons of the *Roman Cause* were driven: for though some of his Friends advis'd him to remit that Divinity Buffoon to be answered in his own way by a slighter pen; he by no means would admit of the proposal, resolving it *unfit* that another should doe in his behalf what was indecent for himself to doe; and though there was no respect to be had of W. S. yet was the Sacred Cause to be manag'd with reverence and awful regard. While this was in hand the second Review of the Annotations came to light, as also the Exposition on the book of Psalmes, and soon after the pacifick discourse of God's Grace and Decrees, ventilated between him and his dear Friend

the reverend and most learned D^r *Sanderſon*, now L^d B^p of *Lincoln*, occasion'd by ſome Letters which had paſſed on that Subject between the ſaid D^r & the Reverend D^r *Pierce*. To this immediately ſucceeded the Latine Tract of *Confirmation*, in answer to the Exceptions of M^r *Daillee*, which was then prepar'd for the Preſs, though detain'd much longer upon prudential or rather charitable conſiderations, a reſpect to which was ſtrictly had in all the *Doct^r's* Writings; it being his care not onely to publiſh ſober and convincing, but withall ſeaſonable uſeful Truths.

He was likewise enterpriſing a farther *Commentary on the Old Teſtament*, and begun on the
book

book of *Proverbs*, and finish'd a third part of it: But the Completion of this and all other the great intendments of the equally Learned, Pious, and indefatigable Author, receiv'd here a full period; it pleasing the Divine Providence to take to himself this high Example of all moral and Christian Excellencies in a season when the Church & Natiō would least have been depriv'd of his aids towards the cementing of those breaches w^{ch} then began to offer at a closure.

'Tis easily to be presum'd the Reader will not be disoblig'd, if we a while divert from this remaining sadder part of the undertaken Narrative, and entertain him with a Survey of the Personal accomplishments of the

Excellent *Doctor*. The particulars whereof would not readily have fallen into the thread of History, or at least had been disjoyned there, and under disadvantage; but will be made to stand in a much fairer light, when represented to the view by way of Character and Picture.

And therefore to this prospect we chearfully invite all eyes in whose esteem Vertue it self is lovely.

The frame of his Body was such as suited with the noble use to which it was design'd, the entertaining a most pure and active Soul, built equally to the advantages of Strength and Comeliness. His *Stature* was of just height and all proportionate dimensions,
avoi-

avoiding the extremes of gross and meager, advantag'd by a graceful Carriage, at once most grave, and yet as much obliging. His *Face* carried dignity and attractives in it, scarce ever clouded with a frown, or so much as darkned by reservedness. His *Eye* was quick and sprightful, his *Complexion* clear and florid, so that (especially in his youth) he had the esteem of a very beautiful person; which was lessen'd only by the colour of his Hair: though if the sentence of other Ages and Climates be of value, that reasonably might be vouch'd as an accession to it.

To this outward Structure was joyn'd that strength of *Constitution*, patient of severest toyl

and hardship; insomuch that for the most part of his life, in the fiercest extremity of cold, he took no other advantage of a fire, then at the greatest distance that he could to look upon it. As to Diseases (till immoderate Study had wrought a change) he was in a manner onely lyable to Feavers, which too a constant temperance did in a great measure prevent, and still assisted to relieve and cure.

Next to his frame of Body, if we survey his inward Faculties, we shall finde them just unto the promises of his outward shape. His *Sight* was quick to an unusual degree; insomuch that if by chance he saw a knot of men, a flock of sheep or herd of cattel, being

being engag'd in discourse, and not at all thinking of it, he would involuntarily cast up their number, which others after long delays could hardly reckon. His *Ear* was accurate and tun'd to his harmonious Soul, so that having never learn'd to sing by book or study, he would exactly perform his part of many things to a *Harpficon* or *Theorbo*; and frequently did so in his more vigorous years after the toyl and labour of the day, and before the remaining studies of the night. His *Elocution* was free and graceful, prepared at once to charm and to command his audience: and when with Preaching at his Countrey charge he had in some degree lost the due manage of his
his

his voice, his late *Sacred Majesty*, by taking notice of the change, became his Master of Musick, and reduc'd him to his ancient decent modulation ; a kindness which the *Doctor* very gratefully acknowledg'd to his dying day, and reported not onely as an instance of the meek and tender condescensions of that gracious Prince , but improved to perswade others by so great an Example to that most friendly office of telling persons of their Faults, without which very commonly (as here it happen'd) men must be so far from amending their Errours , that 'tis morally impossible they should ever know them.

As to his more inferiour Faculties,

culties, we must allow the first place to his *Invention*, his richest, altogether unexhausted treasure, whose flowings were with that full torrent, that for several years, after his choice of Subject, which generally he had in prospect beforehand, a little meditation on the Saturday night made up his Sermon: but in the last twelve of his life, finding the recollection of his thoughts disturb his sleep, he remitted the particular care of the Composition and Method of his future Discourse to the Sunday morning, wherein an hours consideration fitted him to the office of the day. With the like swiftness he dispatch'd his Writings, usually composing faster than his *Amanuensis*, though
a ve-

a very dextrous person, could transcribe after him. His *Considerations of present necessity concerning Episcopacy* were drawn up after ten of clock at night in a friends Chamber, who professes, that sitting by all the while, he remembers not that he took off Pen from Paper till he had done; and the very next morning, it being fully approved by the Bishop of *Salisbury*, he sent it to the Press: to which work he could have no premeditation or second thoughts, he being that very night after Supper employ'd by the before-mentioned Lord Bishop of *Salisbury*, now of *Winchester*, on that task. So likewise he began his *Traet of Scandal* at eleven at night, and finish'd it
be-

before he went to bed. Nor was this a peculiar or extraordinary thing with him, but most customary; five sheets having amidst his other diversions been sundry times his one day's work; adding to it so much of the night as he frequently borrowed from sleep and supper. And indeed such were his diversions, so many and so importunate, that notwithstanding this incredible ease of writing, 'tis hardly imaginable how he could compass the tithe of what he did. For he that shall consider his laborious way, immerst in almost infinite quotations, to which the turning over books and consulting several editions was absolutely needfull; his obligation to read not
onely

onely Claslick Authors, but the more recent abortions of the Press, wherein he prov'd frequently concern'd ; his perusal of the writings of his Friends and strangers intended to be publick ; his review of his own Works , and correcting them with his own hand shecc by sheet as they came forth, which he did to all his later Tracts ; his reception of Visits, whether of civility, or for resolution of Conscience, or information in points of difficulty, which were numerous and great devourers of his time ; his agency for men of quality, providing them Schoolmasters for their Children, and Chaplains in their houses, in which affair he had set up a kind of Office of
ad-

addresses ; his general correspondencies by Letter, whereof some cost him 10, others 20, 30, 40, nay 60 sheets of paper, and ever took up two dayes of the Week entirely to themselves; the time exhausted by his sicknesses, which in the later years of his life gave him but short and seldom truce, and alwaies made it necessary for him not to stir frō his chair, or so much as read a letter for two hours after every meal, failance wherein being certainly reveng'd by a fit of the Gout ; his not onely constant preaching and instructing the Family where he was, and his visiting the sick both there and in the Neighbourhood, but amidst all, his sure returns of Prayer, so frequent and so
con-

constant as certainly to challenge to themselves a great portion of the day : he, I say, that shall compute and summe up this, the particulars whereof are nakedly set down without any straining of the truth or flourish of expression, must be to seek what point of vacant time remain'd yet undispos'd ; I do not say to write books, but even to breath and rest a little in.

After a serious reflexion on the premisses, and full debate thereon, the account given by that excellent person who had the happiness of being the nearest and most constant witness of the before-recited severals, seems the best and chiefly satisfactory that possibly can be made ; that he
gain'd

gain'd time for his writing Books by the time he spent in Prayer, whilst (a more then ordinary assistance attending his Devotions) his Closet prov'd his Library, and he studyed most upon his knees.

As to his *Memory*, 'twas serviceable, but not officious; faithful to things and business, but unwillingly retaining the texture and punctualities of words: which defect he frequently lamented, it being harder with him to get one Sermon by heart then to pen twenty.

His way of *Speech* and faculty of communicating notions was sufficiently happy, having onely this best kind of defect, exuberance and surplusage of plenty,

G ty,

ty, the tide and torrent of his matter being not easily confin'd by periods; whereby his style, though round and comprehensive, was encumbred sometimes by *Parentheses*, and became difficult to vulgar understandings: but by the use of writing, and his desire to accommodate himself to all capacities, he in his later years had master'd that defect, which was so slight, that notwithstanding it, he deserved from (the most accurate Judge and greatest Master of English Rhetorick which this age hath given) his late Sacred Majesty this Character and Testimony, *That he was the most natural Orator he ever heard.*

His Judgment, as in it self the
highest

highest Faculty, so was it the most eminent among his natural endowments: for though the finding out the similitudes of different things, wherein the Phantasy is conversant, is usually a bar to the discerning the disparities of similar appearances, which is the business of Discretion, and that store of notions which is laid up in Memory assists rather Confusion than Choice, upon which grounds the greatest Clerks are frequently not the wisest men; He had, to his sufficient *Memory* and incomparable *Invention*, a clear discerning *Judgment*; and that not onely in Scholastical affairs and points of Learning, which the arguings, and besides them the designment of

his writings manifest beyond dispute, but in the concernes of publick nature both of Church and State, wherein his guesse was usually as near to Prophecy as any mans; as also in the little mysteries of private manage, by which upon occasion he has unravell'd the studied cheats of great artificers in that liberal Science, wherein particularly he vindicated a person of Honour for whom he was intrusted, and assisted frequently his friends in their domestick intercurrent difficulties.

As to acquir'd habits and abilities in *Learning*, his writings having given the World sufficient account of them, there remains onely to observe, that the range
and

and compass of his knowledge
fill'd the whole Circle of the
Arts, and reach'd those severals
which single do exact an 'entire
man unto themselves, and full
age. To be accurate in the *Gram-*
mar and idioms of the Tongues,
and then as a *Rhetorician* to make
all their graces serve his Elo-
quence ; to have traverst *an-*
cient, and yet be no stranger in
modern Writers ; to be studied in
Philosophy, and familiarly vers'd
in all the politer *classick* Authors ;
to be learn'd in *School-divinity*, and
a master in *Church-antiquity*, per-
fect and ready in the sense of *Fa-*
thers, *Councils*, *Ecclesiastical* *Histo-*
rians and *Liturgicks* ; to have de-
vour'd so much and yet digested
it, is a rarity in nature and in

diligence which has but few Examples.

But after all we must take leave to say, and do it upon sober recollection, that the *Doctor's* Learning was the least thing in him; the *Scholar* was here less eminent than the *Christian*: His Speculative knowledge, that gave light to the most dark and difficult proposals, became eclipsed by the more dazzling lustre of his Practick. In the Catalogue of his Vertues, his *Chastity* and *Temperance* may claim the earliest place, as being the Sacristis to the rest, and in him were therefore onely not the greatest of his Excellencies, because every thing else was so.

And first, his *chaste* thoughts,
words

words and carriage so disciplin'd his lower faculties, as not onely restrain'd through all the heats of youth, made more then usually importunate by the full vigour of a high and sanguine constitution, (which his escape he gratefully referr'd unto the onely mercy of Almighty God) but gave a detestation of all those verbal follies, that have not onely the allowance of being harmless mirth, but the repute of wit and gaiety of humor: so that the scurrilous jest could sooner obtain his tears in penance for it, then the approbation of a smile; and all approaches to this sin he look'd upon not onely with an utter disallowance in his Will, but a kinde of natural abhorrence and anti-

pathy in his lower outward faculties.

In his first remove to *Pensebury* he was perswaded by his friends that the Matrimonial state was needful to the bearing off those household cares and other intercurrent troubles which his condition then brought with it; and on this ground he gave some eare to their advices: which he did then more readily, for that there was a person represented to him, of whose Vertue as well as other more usually-desired accomplishments he had been long before well satisfied. But being hindred several times by little unexpected accidents, he finally lay'd down all his pretensions upon a ground of perfect self-denial;

denial ; being inform'd that one of a fairer fortune and higher quality than his was, or else was like to be, and consequently one who in common account would prove the better match, had kindness for her. Having thus resolv'd, the charity of his Mother, who undertook the manage of his Family, became a seasonable assistant and expedient in this single state ; till after several years her age making those cares too great a burthen for her shoulders, he again was induc'd to resume his thoughts of Marriage. But the National disturbances (that afterwards brake out in War and Ruine) appearing then in ferment, he was again diverted by recollecting the Apostles advice,

1 Cor.

1 Cor. 7. 26. enforc'd upon his thoughts by the reading of S^t *Jerom's* Epistle to *Agereuchia*, where after glorious Elogies of Marriage, the Father concluded in an earnest dehortation from it, upon a representation of a like face of things, the *Goths* then breaking into *Italy*, as they before had done into the other near parts of the *Roman* Empire, and filling all with slaughter, cruelty and ruine. Upon which prospect the good *Doctor* casting a serious Eye, and with prophetick sorrows and misgivings fearing a parallel in this our Nation, the second time deposited his conjugal intendments, and thenceforth courted and espoused (what he preserv'd inviolate) unto his death the
more

more eminent perfection of spotless virgin Chastity.

His *Appetite* was good, but the restraint of it was very eminent and extraordinary; for his Diet was of the plainest meats, and commonly not only his dishes, but the parts of them were such as most others would refuse. Sauces he scarce ever tasted of, but often express'd it his wonder *how rational Creatures should eat for any thing but health, since he that did eat or drink that which might cause a fit of the Stone or Gout, though a year after, therein unman'd himself, and acted as a beast.* So that his self-denials were quite contrary to the usual ones; for considering the time lost in Eating, and the vacancy suc-

succeeding it, his meals were the greatest pressure, and his fasting-day the most sensual part of his Week.

In the time of his full and more vigorous health he seldome did eat or drink more then once in twenty four hours, and some Fruit towards night ; and two dayes in every week, and in *Lent* and *Ember-week* three days, he eat but once in thirty six. Nor did he ever with so much regret submit unto any prescript, as when his Physicians, after his great Feaver that he had in *Oxford*, requir'd him to eat Suppers. Which severity of injunction he soon shook off, and returned to his beloved abstinence, untill renew'd infirmities brought him
back

back unto the penance of more indulgence to himself.

As he had the greatest indifference to what he eat, so had he the greatest observation too, especially when it came to be made point of diet and prescription; for in this case he was most exact, never tasting of any prohibited meats, though some of them had before the advantage of being customary towards their seeming necessary. And herein his palate was so tractable and subdued to the dictates of an higher choice, that he really thought no meat pleasant, but in proportion to its wholesomeness: even his beloved Apples he would oft say he would totally abandon, as soon as they should appear